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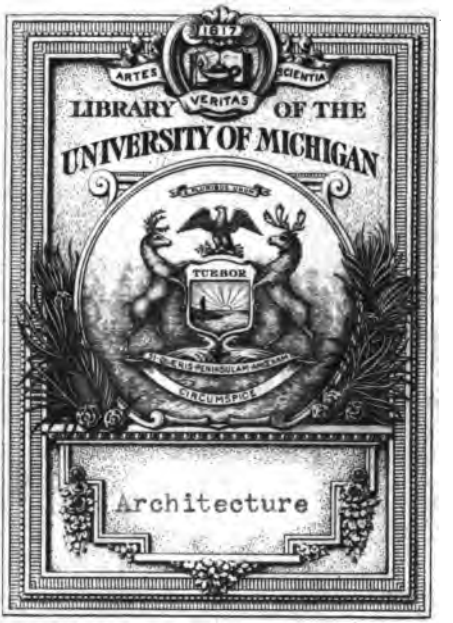

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VENICE

Part III, Volume I

VENICE

BY

POMPEO MOLMENTI

Translated from the Italian by
HORATIO F. BROWN, British
Archivist and author of "In
and Around Venice," etc.

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VENICE

ITS INDIVIDUAL GROWTH FROM THE EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

BY

POMPEO MOLMENTI

TRANSLATED BY HORATIO F. BROWN

PART III — THE DECADENCE

VOLUME I

CHICAGO

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VENICE IN THE DECADENCE

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC — CHURCH AND STATE — THE GOVERNMENT AND REFORM — THE NEW NOBLES AND THE BARNABOTTI

WITH the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559) opens a gloomy period in the history of Italy. Some of her States were ruled by feeble princes or tottering Republics; others were completely under the domination of Spain, France, or Austria. Rome was a prey to bandits, and governed by Popes who subordinated every action to the aggrandisement of their nephews; the sole defenders of Italy were Piedmont, which guarded the Alps menaced by the French, and Venice, which held the sea against the Turks. Everywhere the nobles were overbearing, the people ground down by taxation, commerce hampered by monopolies, agriculture languishing under mortmain and feudal tenure, property insecure, liberty crushed. Even Venice herself, harassed by quarrels with Rome, menaced by Spain, worn out by wars with the Uskoks, threatened by the Turks, despoiled of a large part of her dominions, was drawing to her close. The last ray of splendour shone forth at Lepanto (1571), but never was a victory at once so glorious and so fruitless. And yet, just as the sun at his setting incarnadines the clouds upon the horizon,

so the decline of Venetian history is illuminated from time to time by the flash of some brilliant quality in the men who, for two centuries longer, managed to guide the State through manifold dangers and attacks. Corruption was insidiously at work among the nobility, offices were sold, gold could unlock the doors of the Council chamber to those not yet of legal age; and yet, despite all this, such was the esteem in which Venetian statesmen were held that, at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the Republic was called upon to act as mediator between the great Powers of Europe, and by the express desire of Louis XIV at the Hague, and at Utrecht she lent her fruitful aid to the conferences which preceded the treaties of 1713 and 1714. The traditions of good government, learned from experience, still survived among many of the patricians who were sent to rule the provinces, where they applied their wisdom and their shrewd practicality. If, during this period more especially, the bonds of union between the capital and the provinces were relaxed, so that justice and personal safety were in greater jeopardy the further one went from Venice, it is nevertheless a fact that the Republic offered to her subjects a well-ordered, steady, wise, and economical government, and that if they compared their condition with the fate of the people in neighbouring States, torn by factions and at the mercy of tyrants, they could not fail to bless the lot which had placed them under the Lion of San Marco.[1] The decline, which had already set in, continued its

[1] Daru, *Histoire de la République de Venise*, Lib. XXXV, § iii. Paris, 1821. Daru is no indulgent critic, and yet his opinion is in curious contrast with the views recently advanced by Prof. Vincenzo Marchesi, who in various pamphlets has reiterated the old charges against Venice. Marchesi launches his attacks, relying chiefly on the conditions of Friuli (*Le relazioni dei Luogotenenti della Patria del Friuli*. Udine, 1893), and endeavours to prove that the patricians *infiacchirono, corruppero e resero il popolo veneziano straniero alle vicende della patria;* that the Republic *non governò saggiamente i paesi italiani a lei soggetti* and that *è degno di altissima compassione lo stato in cui vissero i contadini friulani sotto il Governo veneto.* We have elsewhere

course slowly but steadily. Venice, the sole surviving remnant of mediæval independence, alone in the stormy evolution of modern society, was on the wane — gradually but not precipitately. Though enfeebled by old age, she succeeded in maintaining her dignity and her freedom in spite of Spanish wiles and aggression, and that noble and austere spirit, Giordano Bruno, pointed to Venice as the sole asylum of liberty under the dark cloud of tyranny which overhung the peninsula. To her he addressed this sonnet:

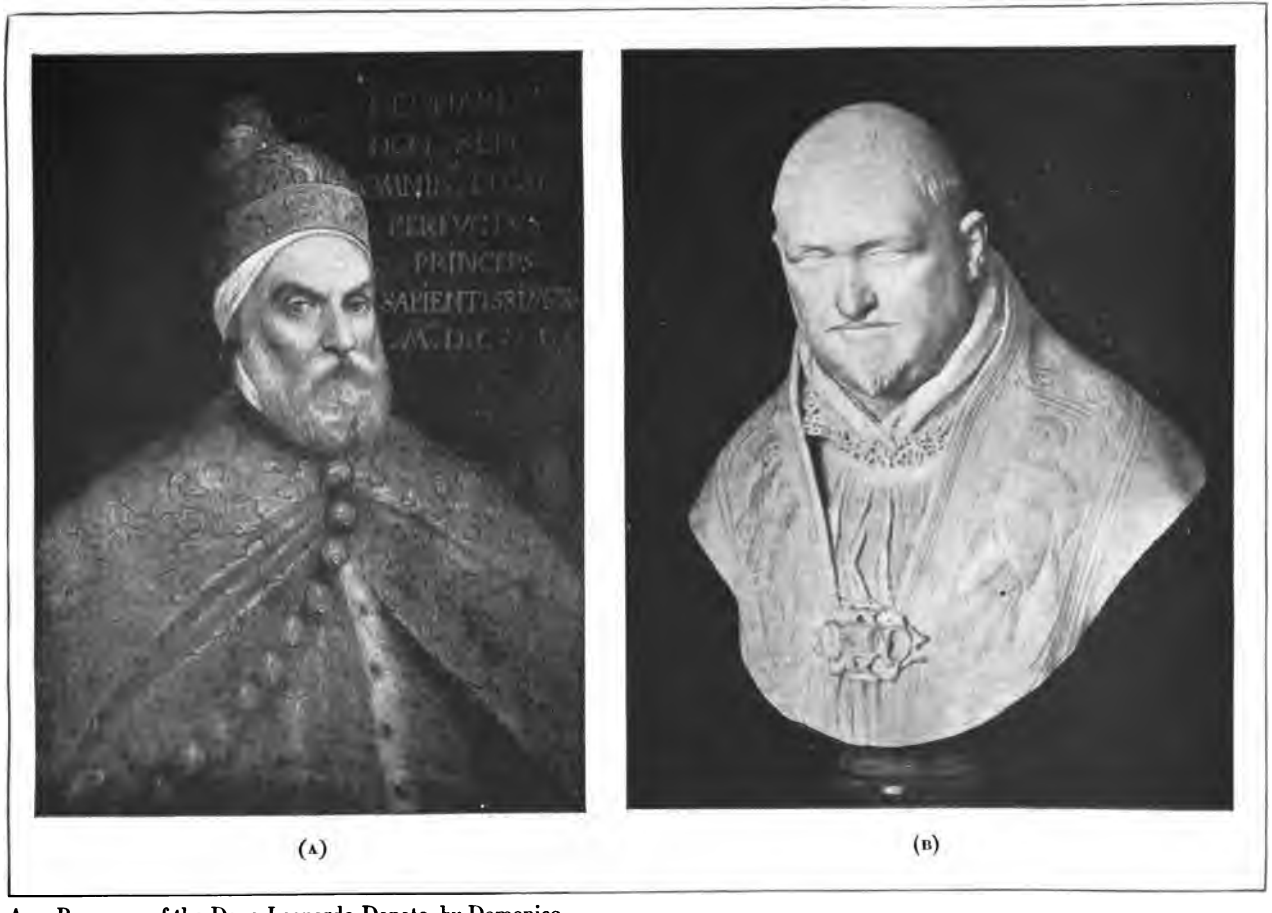
Nuova Arca di Noè, che mentre inonda
L'aspro flagel del barbaro tiranno
Sopra l'Italia, dall' estremo danno
Servasti il seme giusto in mezzo all' onda:
Qui di discordia e di servitù immonda
Invïolata, eroi che ponno e sanno
Produci sempre, onde a ragion ti fanno
Vergine intatta e madre alma e feconda.
Maraviglia del mondo, pia nepote
Di Roma, onor d'Italia e gran sostegno:
Dei principi orologio e saggia scola:
Per mai non tramontar se' qual Boõte,
Tarda in guidar il tuo felice regno,
Di libertà portando il pondo sola.

Venice knew how to guard her dignity and her freedom even against the thunders of Rome, when Paul V, secretly incited by Spanish animosity towards the Republic, launched the bolts of his wrath against her. Relations between Venice and the Vatican had been strained for many years; Cardinal Camillo Borghese, discussing the points of divergence with Leonardo Donato, the Venetian ambassador, declared that, were he Pope, he would excommunicate the Venetians. "And I," said Donato, "were I Doge, would laugh at your excommunication." Borghese became Pope, and Donato Doge, and both kept their word. Certain laws passed by the Republic on the subject of church

attempted to prove how erroneous is this view, by taking into consideration the reports of the Luogotenenti of Friuli (see *Il Dominio Veneto nel Friuli* in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, Tom. VI, Part I, a. 1893).

property, and the case of two priests guilty of common crimes, whom the Council of Ten insisted on trying before the secular courts in spite of the Nuncio's claim that they should be tried before the ecclesiastical courts, gave the Pope a pretext for launching an interdict against Venice in 1606. The Senate did not shrink; it boldly announced that in matters temporal it recognised no superior save God; it forbade the publication of the papal bulls; it ordered all churches throughout Venetian dominions to be kept open and the services celebrated as usual; it banished the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines who had refused obedience. Tradition has it that a Venetian parish priest who had closed his church doors, speedily reopened them when he saw a gibbet rising in front of his house; and again, that the Vicar of the Chapter of Padua, who had declared that he would regulate his conduct according to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, was informed that the Holy Spirit had already inspired the Ten to hang the disobedient. At the same time the government, which had no desire to provoke a schism, professed complete respect for the Catholic faith, affirming that reverence for the dogmas of religion ought not to, and could not ever, produce a collision with the law of the land. The heart and brain of the position was Paolo Sarpi, who has left the imprint of his lofty mind on the opening years of the seventeenth century. Some concessions were made on both sides, and the interdict was removed on April 22, 1607.

The tortuous policy of Spain, which found in Venice an obstacle to complete dominion in the peninsula, not content with supporting the Uskoks who infested the Adriatic, went the length of planning the famous plot which had for its leaders Ossuna, Viceroy of Naples, Toledo, Governor of Milan, and Bedmar, Spanish ambassador in Venice (1617). A Frenchman, Baldassare Juven, gave the government timely warning,



(A) (B)

A — Portrait of the Doge Leonardo Donato, by Domenico Tintoretto. (Venice, Palazzo Ducale). B — Bust of Pope Paul V, by Bernini. (Rome, Borghese Gallery)

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and the agents were arrested. Some were executed, others imprisoned; and Bedmar, only saved from popular indignation by his position as ambassador, was disowned by his government and recalled to Madrid. In this way the two States, which cordially hated each other,[1] managed to preserve the appearance of friendly relations expressed in the obsequious and hypocritical language of ceremony then in vogue, — an obsequiousness which was rudely broken by a flash of ancient Venetian pride when the Republic, in 1630, refused to allow Spanish ships to enter the Adriatic as escort for the sister of the King of Spain when on her way to wed Ferdinand, King of Hungary. The Republic boldly affirmed its supremacy in "the Gulf," and added that the galleys of San Marco were quite able to receive the royal bride with fitting honours, or, if these were rejected, to defend their rights with their cannon.

The Republic, menaced by the secret designs of the foreigner and by the treachery of unworthy nobles like Girolamo Grimani (1617), Giambattista Bragadin (1620), and Angelo Badoer (1630), enveloped herself in an ever-deepening mystery and suspicion, committing the management of public affairs almost entirely to the Cabinet, the Council of Ten, and the Three Inquisitors of State, whose vigilance was directed chiefly to discovering the betrayers of State secrets. This attitude of suspicion found an innocent victim in the patrician Antonio Foscarini (1622). That Foscarini, who had been recalled from the embassy in London and acquitted after trial on the charge of revealing State secrets, gave colour to the suspicions against him by his own heedlessness, cannot be denied; that he was really innocent and suffered the extreme penalty unjustly seems certain, and the government itself recognised its error and publicly absolved the memory of

[1] The very name of the Spaniard meant to the Venetians ruin and misfortune; hence the proverb: *Poveri noi! che vegnirà i Spagnoi.*

government chose to surround itself only served — and in Venice less than elsewhere — to draw a veil over the errors which were common to all governments, even though open to the growth of ideas, and to conceal those radical injustices which unfortunately are to be found in the governments of every age. The dangers which surrounded her rendered the Republic suspicious and diffident, not cruel. By the seventeenth century the *Pozzi* were almost entirely abandoned, and not more than four prisoners were found in those gloomy dungeons at the fall of the Republic, all four guilty of common crimes; for by a humane disposition the government did not mingle together political prisoners and thieves and assassins.[1] The *Piombi*, on the other hand, were used, even after the fall of the Republic, by governments which claimed to be both humane and civilised.[2] It is true that the law pursued with excessive rigour all those who ventured to raise their voice against the State; but the penalties were milder than in the past. The privacy of correspondence was not always respected.[3] Spies were still reckoned among the weapons of government, though

[1] The names of the last prisoners in the *Pozzi* were Antonio Bruni, Domenico Somin, called Barbetta, Giovanni Maria Borni, and Andrea Gaole. Fulin, *Studî nell' Arch. degli Inquisitori di Stato*, pp. 75–76. Venezia, 1868.

[2] A great romancer, more veracious than many an historian, Honoré de Balzac, speaks thus of these prisons which have thrown so sinister a light on the Venetian government: "Les puits sont, comme l'a dit Howard, les cachots les plus sains qu'il ait vus. Quant aux plombs, il y a dans Paris, dix milles mansardes, couvertes de zinc, louées cent en deux cents francs par an, qui sont pires, et où demeurent beaucoup d'hommes de talent." Balzac, *Œuvres*, XXIII, 780. Paris, 1872.

[3] "Dans le bureau de la poste [foreign post-office] sur le rivage, qu'ils appellent du vin, il y a une chambre partagée en deux et dont les parties separées communiquent par une ouverture, comme une grille de parloir de Religieuses, dans laquelle il y a une grande table enchassée, qui est dans l'une et dans l'autre chambre. Ceux qui portent des lettres les doivent jetter dès la partie du dehors sur cette table, et il y a toujours en dedans un officier de la poste, qui sans faire semblant de rien, ou faissant semblant de faire les paquets, envisage tous ceux qui se présentent; et s'il voit quelques lettres sur lesquelles on puisse soupçonner du mistère

PORTRAIT of Captain-General Lazzaro Mocenigo. (Gallery of Munich)

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not much credence was given to anonymous information, nor much reliance placed upon the services of informers; in the year 1718 the Inquisitors of State had only three in their employ, and in the year 1764 these were reduced to one. Spies in fact were so few in number or so inefficient that the lodges of the Free Masons were able to spread all through the State. We may add that if the mysterious terror which the government was said to have inspired had not been in fact a pure invention, Venice could not have been, as she actually was down to her very last days, the gayest city in Italy.

Nevertheless, in the midst of this luxurious and joyous existence, the martial valour awoke from time to time; and even in her decline Venice proved that her territories were by no means an easy prey to the Turk, with whom, had she valued her material interests above her honour, she might have made favourable commercial treaties by surrendering her possessions instead of defending them. The Turks, by this time supreme in the archipelago, were bent on the conquest of Crete, the important island which Venice in 1204 had bought from the Marquis of Monferrat. They declared war, and in 1645 took Canea. The long struggle which ensued had a disastrous issue; all the same it was rendered illustrious by deeds of heroism which marked each stage down to its close. Biagio Zuliani, the peer of Pietro Micca, buried himself under the ruins of Castle San Teodoro, which he scorned to surrender to the foe. Tomaso Morosini, after vainly endeavouring to close the Dardanelles, carried his flagship into the centre of five-and-twenty Turkish galleys, and died; but his fall was avenged by the Captain-General Grimani, who came up in time to throw the enemy into a panic. Victories, each more bloody than the last, follow in quick succession.

on ne manque guères de s'en éclaircir." Freschot, *Nouvelle rélation de Venise*, pp. 337, 338. Utrecht, 1709.

Jacopo da Riva at Fochies (1649), Alvise Mocenigo at Paros (1651), Lorenzo Marcello at the Dardanelles (1656), Lazzaro Mocenigo at Chios (1657), Giorgio Morosini at Milos (1661), were to be found where blows fell thickest, ever to the front where danger threatened or glory was to be won. Giuseppe Dolfin, with a single galley, attacked by six of the enemies' ships, made a brave resistance, captured a Turkish vessel, and regained the Venetian fleet (1654). Yet again, Lazzaro Mocenigo, worthy to rank with the great heroes of history, forced the passage of the Dardanelles in the teeth of tempest and foe, and when the great and terrible champion was on the very point of reaching Constantinople, the powder magazine of his ship exploded and a falling yard crushed him on the quarter-deck (1657). The ever memorable sacrifice of Venice, who felt within her breast the last hopes of Italy and offered to Europe herself, her ships, her treasure, her noblest blood, was watched with indifference by the great Powers, who lent her slight and inefficient aid; and while the banner of San Marco was borne through hecatombs of slaughter in Eastern waters, the flags of other nations, profiting by the distress of their great rival, invaded other seas and enlarged the borders of their commerce. The Turks, who never for a moment wavered in their resolve to storm Candia, made a supreme effort against the walls of the city in 1667; the rain of shot carried death into the citadel and strewed the streets with the slain. And yet Candia held out. In the space of five months we hear of thirty-two assaults, seventeen sorties, six hundred and eighteen mines exploded, three thousand six hundred Venetian troops and twenty thousand Turks laid low. The walls dripped with blood; the streets were shambles heaped with corpses and formless piles of lacerated limbs. And yet Candia held out. The marvellous defence continued throughout the following year. Finally, in 1669, after four-and-twenty

Francesco Morosini Peloponnesiaco (1618-1694)
— from a contemporary engraving

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years of fighting, when Francesco Morosini saw at last that it was beyond human power to repair the shattered forces, he surrendered to the Turks, and Candia was reduced to a heap of ruins. But from those ruins rose the cry for vengeance, and in 1684 the war with the Turk was resumed. Morosini reconquered Santa Maura, Prèvesa, Coron, and the entire Peloponnesus. His contemporaries honoured him with the title of Peloponnesiacus, and during his life, in 1687, a bronze bust was erected to him in the Ducal Palace[1]; when in 1688 he mounted the Ducal throne, Pope Alexander VIII sent him as a gift the symbols of command, the cap and sword. The Doge, now in his seventy-fifth year, had the good fortune to lead his troops to fresh victories in the Levant before he died, at Nauplia, in 1694.

In the course of these long and obstinate struggles, not always crowned with success, the splendid traditions of the Venetian navy were maintained; and although the ships, for the most part drawn from the mercantile marine, were heavy and cumbersome to handle under sail, the commanders during the war of Candia proved themselves excellent tacticians, and the fleet, always on the spot, always equal in power to the opposing squadrons, cruised in the gulf and among the islands, and faced and often defeated the enemy, avoided the ruses of the foe, and repressed any attempt at violence.[2] Venetian artillery adopted the improvements suggested by science and experience, thanks chiefly to the labours of Alberghetti and Gasparoni, and covered itself with glory in 1769, when the floating

[1] The bust was placed in the Sala d'armi of the Council of Ten, with the following inscription: FRANCISCO MAUROCENO | PELOPONNESIACO ADHUC VIVENTI | SENATUS. After the death of Morosini, a large triumphal arch, adorned with paintings by Gregorio Lazzarini, was erected to his memory in the Sala dello Scrutinio.

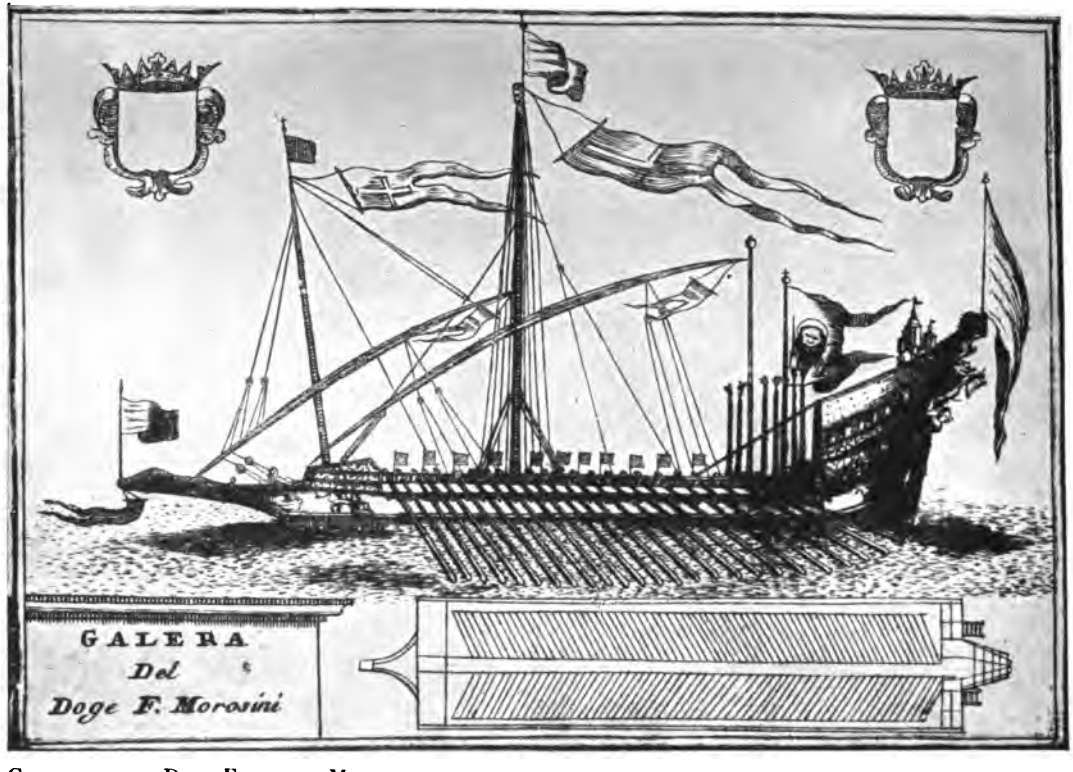
[2] Guglielmotti, *La squadra ausiliaria della Marina Romana*, p. 8. Roma, 1883.

batteries of Angelo Emo bombarded Tunis, Susa, Sfax, and Biserta. But these were the last flickers of the flame. Venice had already reached the point at which she inevitably found herself surrounded by nations who had grown up under other ideas and other principles of government than those which had led her to power and given her so vast an influence in Europe; she was visibly on the wane even in her armaments, and she ended by subsiding into an ignominious neutrality after the unfortunate Peace of Passarowitz (1718), which still further curtailed her dominions.[1] Service in the fleet, which was compulsory for all, was converted into a money payment, out of which mercenaries were hired. The delays, extortions, and frauds in the arsenal; the lack of discipline and thefts in the navy; in short, all the serious defects which Lorenzo Priuli,[2] *Savio agli ordeni*, had deplored as early as 1591, now assumed such proportions that at the opening of the eighteenth century an effort was made to introduce reforms by the usual method of appointing a new magistracy called the Inquisitorato dell' Arsenale. The navy declined steadily in comparison with the navies of other nations like the English and the Dutch, though the Venetians did not entirely ignore all progress and innovation in the methods of ship-building; and the arsenal sent out xebecs, corvettes, and frigates built on new lines learned from foreigners.[3]

[1] At the fall of the Republic the entire population numbered 2,921,011 souls. The Dominion of Venice included the Dogado, that is, the lagoon and its immediate surroundings; the provinces of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Crema; the Polesine of Rovigo, the Patria of Friuli, the Marca Trevigiana with Feltre, Belluno and Cadore; Istria and Dalmatia; Cattaro, Butrintò, Praga, Prevesa, Vonizza in Albania; the islands of Corfù and Paxos, Santa Maura, Cefalonia, Teachi, Zante, Assò, the Strophades and Cerigo in the Ionian Sea.

[2] Romanin, *Storia*, VI, 436.

[3] Arch. di Stato, *Storia delle venete navi ovvero del modo con cui furono costruite*, etc. *Miscell. Cod. diversi. No. 761.* Alvise Mocenigo, Provveditore all'Arsenale, in his *Relazione al Senato sulle condizioni della flotta veneta nel 1763* (pub. per nozze Morosini-de Blaas. Venezia, 1894) says:



GALLEY OF THE DOGE FRANCESCO MOROSINI

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The disorders which infected the navy were even more pronounced in the land forces. The artillery, it is true, was abundant, numbering, at the fall of the Republic, 9,761 pieces of various calibre; but the forts were out of repair and insufficiently garrisoned. The army was recruited from volunteers in receipt of pay. According to Marshal Schulemburg's design, of April 26, 1729, its peace footing should have given 22,000 men, to be doubled in time of war. It was made up of artillery, engineers, and infantry raised in Italy, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Greece; cuirassiers and Italian dragoons; light horse, or *stradioti,* raised among Albanians, Croats, or Cimeriots.[1] This did not include the troops scattered throughout the various provinces,[2] the halberdiers, the carabineers, and the *lancie spezzate*, with elaborate uniforms, who went to furnish the bodyguard of the Doge, the chief magistrates and the commanders[3]; the artillerymen, who formed the civic guard; the gens-d'armes; and lastly the local militia, who after the defeat of Ghiaradadda lost their excellent organisation and became a kind of *land wehr*, which did not always

"L'Arsenale, ch'è l'ammirazione dei forestieri, costa alla Cassa Pubblica dal 1719 al 1761, cioè in 43 anni di pace, nove millioni 2 mille 556 ducati effettivi." In 1797 the Republic still possessed 184 men-of-war. Casoni, *Forze militari* (in *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 248).

[1] Casoni, loc. cit., p. 258.

[2] Lamberti (*Mem. degli ultimi cinquant' anni della Repubblica*, Cod. Marciano, Cl. VII, MCDLIV, Vol. I, pp. 62, 67) says: "The troops sufficed only to garrison the fortresses in the Levant and Dalmatia, and to adorn, as it were, the cities and strong places of the mainland. The troops, apart from the commander-in-chief, who was always a foreigner, were officered by lieutenant-generals, brigadiers, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, lieutenants, and subalterns under the orders of the Provveditori Generali and of the Savio della Scrittura, or Minister for War." There are three watercolour sketches in the Gherro collection, in the Museo Civico, which show us some companies of the Friuli garrison under the command of the Counts of Savorgnan.

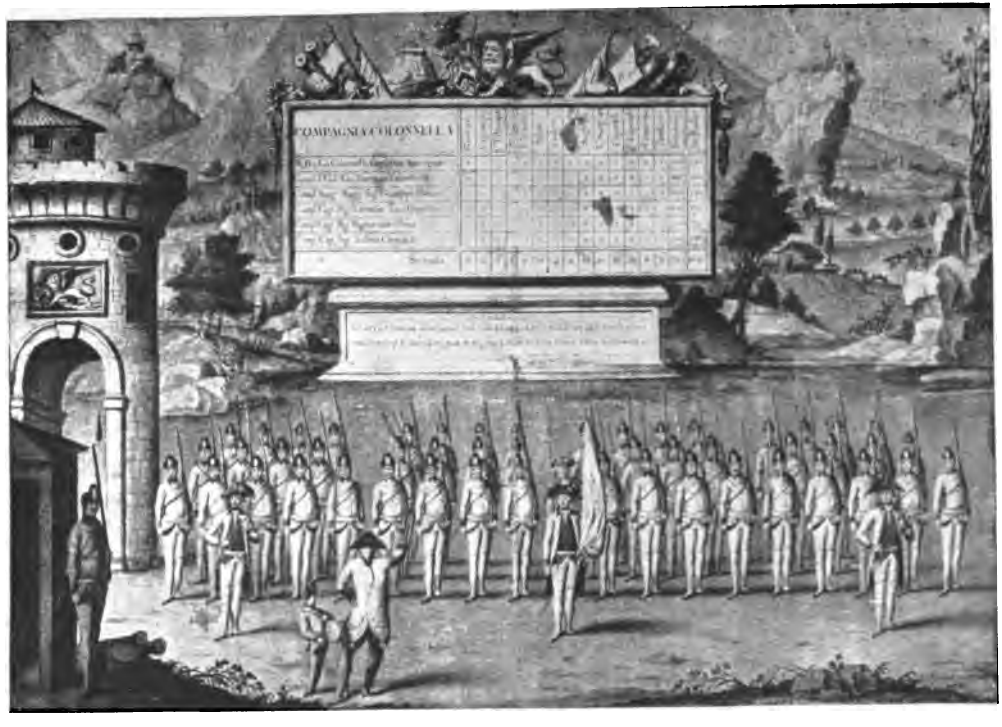
[3] Francesco Morosini, on the eve of his departure for the war of 1684, appeared in public to the sound of trumpets, fifes, and drums, dressed in red with a surcoat of cloth of gold, and attended by a guard of carabineers in scarlet with the Morosini arms on their hats, and of halberdiers in *livrea superbissima*. Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, II, 365. Venezia, 1688.

respond to the muster and seldom went through any drill.[1]

As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century modifications were introduced into the army; for example, the harquebus was exchanged for the musket with a hammer; the bayonet was fixed to the barrel of the gun and used as a thrusting weapon; uniforms were adopted for the troops. But as time went on discipline became relaxed, and drill and marching were neglected. Down to the last, however, the government did not abandon its endeavours to give order and cohesion to the militia; the military college of Verona, wisely planned and directed, was founded in 1751; in 1771 the *Inquisitori sopra ruoli* were established, with powers to check the indiscipline and abuses of the troops; in 1785 two companies of sappers and miners were attached to the engineers. Nor was the government niggard in its expenditure. In the eighteenth century the joint budgets for the army and navy amounted to 2,390,000 ducats when war was raging outside Venice, and to 1,680,000 ducats in time of universal peace.[2] The words of Alvise Mocenigo,

[1] The captains and sergeants of the local militia were paid 25 and 10 ducats respectively per month. The troops were not paid, but enjoyed some exemptions from customs duties. Mutinelli, in his mendacious compilation (*Memorie storiche degli ultimi cinquant' anni della Repubblica Veneziana*. Venezia, 1854), where he piles up shameful charges against Venice, describes both army and navy as the prey of insubordination and corruption. Girolamo Dandolo replied to Mutinelli's calumnies (*La caduta della Repubblica Veneziana*. Venezia, 1855) in a tone of generous indignation, which, however, sometimes lacks serenity of judgment.

[2] *Bilanci generali dal 1736 al 1755 pubblicati dalla R. commissione per la pubblicazione dei documenti finaziari della Republica*, Vol. III. Venezia, 1903. The army budget did not include the salary of the commander-in-chief. Marshal Schulemburg drew as much as 25,000 ducats a year. Mutinelli (*Memorie*, cit. p. 160), interpreting after his own fashion the reports of the Provveditori Generali da Mar, declares that in order to save powder musketry practice was abandoned, that the troops were clothed in rags and were so badly fed that many fell sick or died. But, as we have already affirmed, the government was not niggard over its military expenditure, and the following fact is enough to prove that sound and abundant food was not wanting. The military bakeries which were,



REVIEW of Venetian Infantry. (From a watercolour in the Gherro Collection in the Museo Civico)

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Provveditori all'arsenale, when addressing the Senate in 1763, expressed the views of the government: "Quanto dolce e desiderabile la pace altrettanto nocevole e funesta riesce ad uno Stato, quando l'amore della medesima giugne ad un tal grado di passione, che toglie affatto dalla vista i pericoli che sono lontani e non lascia mirare che da lontano quelli che sono vicini."[1] But as a matter of fact peace was imperative, and was sought even at the price of humiliations; and yet examples of courage and fidelity to a cause which not even valour could crown with victory were not wanting, and the troops of San Marco, under Marshal Schulemburg and Antonio Loredano made a brave defence of Corfù in 1716, and the next year Lodovico Flangini, commander of the fleet, died a heroic death in the battle of the Dardanelles, while but a few years before the inglorious extinction of the Republic the standard of San Marco presided over the naval achievement of Angelo Emo (1731–1792), achievements not unworthy of the glorious past. It is possible that not a few Venetians would have known how to prove that the ancient valour was not extinct had the calamities and the ruin of their country not been bound up with secret causes which no personal foresight and courage availed to obviate. The desire for reform was widespread; the growing needs of civilisation, the new discoveries, the new trend of economic laws, did not pass unnoticed in the lagoons, but they failed to exercise a wholesome action on a body which was already decrepit and outworn. It happened, therefore, that the government was powerless to reacquire vigour,

as now, at S. Martino on the Riva degli Schiavoni, came under the supervision of a board called the *Camera all'armar*. They produced a biscuit, by a process lost in our day, which had the property of defying the weevil. In 1821 a supply of biscuits, left by the Venetian government, was found in perfect condition in the island of Crete, which had passed to the Turks as long ago as 1669. Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, p. 281.

[1] *Relazione al Senato sulle condizioni della flotta Veneziana nel 1763*, cit.

while the moral fibre of the aristocracy, though it still remained both proud and patriotic and in happier conditions might have recovered its ancient energy, was gradually sapped.

Notwithstanding the perilous condition of the times and the difficulties due to the antiquated machinery of government, the Venetians did endeavour to introduce reforms, and the Republic maintained her reputation for the prudence of her measures, for equity and legal acumen. Long before constitutional monarchy and English parliamentary institutions became the model of sound government, all Europe, including England itself, sought instruction from the political wisdom of Venice.[1] "Venise," says the Frenchman Freschot, writing in 1709, "est depuis longtemps devenue l'école où tous les souverains cherchent des exemples et des enseignements." All are agreed in lauding the excellence of her constitution, which secured her independence throughout the three centuries preceding the French Revolution, during which absolutism emerged universally triumphant from the struggle between feudalism and the power of the crown. The Republic had already accepted some of the principles which underlay the great upheaval of 1789, — such, for example, as the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, tolerance, if not absolute liberty, in matters of faith, the freedom of the government from all dependence on the Church. Venice was always sincerely and profoundly Catholic, but the authority of the Holy See was more limited there than in any other State in the world.[2] After the Interdict of Paul V, the Republic continued to regulate all matters concerning ecclesiastical property, to judge criminous clerics, and to guard jealously her rights in front of papal innovation: as, for instance, when she

[1] Kovalevsky, *La fin d'une aristocratie*, trans. Turin, 1901.
[2] Freschot, *Nouvelle relation de Venise*, op. cit., p. 223.

PORTRAIT of a Venetian Admiral (XVIII century), by Alessandro Longhi. (Padua, Museo Civico)

Photo by Alinari

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refused to recognise Federico Cornaro, son of the Doge, as Bishop of Padua and Cardinal, and when she declined to adopt the new style of "Eminenza" bestowed on cardinals.[1] The Jesuits, who were expelled in 1606, and accompanied on their departure by the hostile murmurs of the crowd, "*Andè in malora*," were recalled in 1657 by the interposition of the Pontiff, but only under conditions which put a check on their secret influence, more especially in the matter of education, and were again expelled in 1773. By a law of 1754 a limit was set on the perpetual recurrence to Rome for indulgences and privileges, *con pregiudizio all' esterior disciplina regolata dalla Chiesa e dallo Stato*. Between the years 1767 and 1772 the number of priests was controlled by law,[2] legacies to convents and religious institutions were forbidden, the larger part of ecclesiastical property exempt from taxation was abolished as being *perniciosi al tesoro pubblico e ai poveri*, and one hundred and twenty-seven conventual establishments were suppressed and their real estate converted to lay uses.[3] To combat idleness, in 1787 the number of feast days was reduced on the ground that "il divieto delle opere servili e il riposo, concesso ad oggetto di poter con minore distrazione adorare i principali misteri della nostra religione e venerar Dio nei suoi santi, si risolvevano comunemente in un ozio fomentatore del mal costume."[4] As industry declined and navigation

[1] Cantù, *Alcune notizie su Venezia spigolate negli Archivi toscani* (Rendiconti dell' Ist. Lombardo di S. e L., I, 136. Milano, 1864).

[2] In the census of 1761 we find 2868 priests, 1405 friars, 1709 nuns, 251 lay sisters; in all, 6233. In 1766, when the population had fallen off a little, there were 2610 priests who said Mass, 386 clerks, 3168 regulars, 1732 nuns; total, 6096. In the city there was an ecclesiastic to every 23 persons of the entire population, without reckoning the lay abbés, whose cloth prevented marriage and who enjoyed certain privileges. Ortolani, G., *Settecento, per una lettera dell' abate Chiari*, p. 41, n. 1. Venezia, 1905–1907.

[3] Cecchetti, *La Republica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma*, I, 212 et seq.

[4] Arch. di Stato, Cons. in Jure, B^a 283. *Scritt. 12 genn. 1786 (m. v.) del consult. Bricci.*

was abandoned, begging began to increase; in 1789 there were 22,000 paupers in Venice,[1] who were maintained by generous private charity and by public aid, which was abundant but not thoughtlessly lavish.[2] Obeying the principles which inspire modern relief legislation, the Senate commissioned the Board of Health to report on the establishment of *un Albergo per li poveri* where, assisted by the generosity of private individuals, the indigent may "astenersi dall' andar vagando con altrui disturbo, e dove potessero a qualche arte applicarsi"; but, on the other hand, a decree of November 11, 1634, had provided that pensions and other personal remunerations and favours should be granted *con mano proporzionata al merito*, thus pruning down many branches of those parasites who in our own day are wont to suck the public treasury dry. As early as the seventeenth century it was the custom to take a census every five years. Its object was not merely with a view to sanitary and police regulations; it aimed also at economic and social amelioration, at assisting trade and curing the evils of vagabondage and of poverty.[3] In the next century, under the supervision of the treasury, that marvellous *Anagrafe di tutto lo Stato* was compiled and printed in 1770; it contained the topography of the cities and provinces, the numbers of the population, the communes, parishes, clergy, associations, troops, pious foundations, arts, and industries.

Internal navigation was encouraged, and the postal service,[4] which was entrusted to private enterprise, was

[1] Errera, *Storia dell' Economia Politica nei secoli XXII e XVIII nella Republica Veneziana*, p. 264. Venezia, 1877. Ortolani, op. cit., p. 45, n. 2.

[2] For example, in 1755, 13412.10 ducats were set apart for relief, 8103.5 in public charity, and 6642.2 to the Hospital of the Pietà. *Bilanci generali*, cit., Vol. III.

[3] Contento, *Il censimento della pop.* (*Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, XX, 65).

[4] The government post-offices were at S. Cassiano; then at S. Moisè in the Corte Barozzi. The Portogruaro post-office, which served Germany, was near the prisons at Rialto; the Florence post at the SS. Apostoli, and the general foreign post at the Riva del Vin at Rialto.

placed on a proper footing. The service of couriers, who were for the most part Bergamasques, was originally arranged in 1490 under the direction of the Provveditori di Comun; when the Tasso family, who also came from Bergamo, established their vast postal system in Italy and Europe, the Venetian post was entrusted to them; but towards the close of the Cinquecento Venetian couriers succeeded in reacquiring a large part of the service; and in the first half of the seventeenth century the Provveditori di Comun, with a view to regulating the postal service in the dominions of the Republic, issued a series of decrees touching the couriers, the postmasters, the fords on the rivers, and the traghettos between the city and the mainland, such as the traghettos of Mestre, Fusina, Cavazucherina (originally called the Canal dell' Arco), Portogruaro, the Fossetta near Meolo.[1] Other decrees followed, opening new posting stations, and providing for the safe transmission of the mails, and in 1775 the State assumed to itself the revenue from the post-office. But if internal navigation was encouraged, the state of the roads was deplorable, *sprofondate*, *piene di buche*, and although orders were issued and commissions appointed, which were sometimes efficient, as when the new road was opened into Tyrol, still, as a rule, the money was spent to little profit, and the regulations remained a dead letter.[2]

With a view to encouraging agriculture the *pensionatico*, or right of pasturage on other people's land, was abolished, and a more just system of imposts introduced. In 1556 a government office was established for the purpose of reclaiming marsh land and dealing with the irrigation of arid tracts; an Agricultural Board was presently associated with the Board of 1556, and the

[1] Pavanello, *La strada e il traghetto della Fossetta*, pp. 71, 72, 73, 75, 83, 84. Venezia, 1906.
[2] Ibid., pp. 132, 134.

work of developing unreclaimed lands and of raising cattle was vigorously pushed forward. Antonio Zanon, at the opening of the eighteenth century, introduced the cultivation of the mulberry into Friuli, and improved the vineyards, for which he received a gold medal from the Republic. Schools of agriculture were opened in many cities of the mainland, and a chair of agriculture was founded at Padua in 1765 and filled by Pietro Arduino. In that city, too, a model farm was established.

In fact, throughout the dominions of the Republic, schools of navigation, of commerce, agriculture, mathematics, drawing, architecture, civil and military engineering, sprang into being, and as early as 1671 Antonio Civran, Savio agli Ordini, while addressing the Senate on the decline of the Venetian marine, advocated the foundation of a school for sailors in the arsenal "per sparger el seme della marittima profession in chi hebbe da Dio per proprio elemento el mar."[1] The school was established in 1683, and in 1774 the arsenal possessed a chair of pure and applied mathematics in connection with ship-building and navigation which was filled by the Venetian priest Giammaria Maffioletti.

As a last record of her past glory Venice, in 1786, republished an augmented edition of the *Codice della veneta mercantile marina*. In the preceding century the whole body of Venetian mercantile law had been gathered into a copious summary under the direction of two *Soprantendenti*. The work was begun by Giovanni Finetti in 1609 and concluded by Marino Angeli in 1679; while by a decree of the Council of Ten, January 23, 1685, the entire Venetian Code was recopied and arranged; the laws affecting feudal tenures were co-ordinated in 1586 and lucidly annotated in 1624 by Giovanni Bonifacio.

[1] Bibl. Marc., Cl. VII, ital. Cod. DCXLIII.

The literary movement, as we shall presently see, was active, and the government did much to encourage study. Printing was the most flourishing of the arts, and on his journey through Italy in 1789 the Abbé Andres remarked that Venice possessed more books and more people engaged in the book trade than any other city. The press, though subject to censorship, was not strangled, and when the great French Encyclopædia appeared, an edition was printed at Padua with valuable additions and corrections, under the *imprimatur* of the Reformatori dello Studio.

Public instruction was amply and wisely fostered. The University of Padua cost about thirty thousand ducats a year[1]; and in the same city a decree of the Senate dated March 18, 1779, founded an Academy of Science and Letters composed of twenty-four members who each drew one hundred ducats a year, and were obliged each year to award gold medals of the value of thirty sequins apiece for studies in metaphysics, jurisprudence, belles-lettres, and archæology.[2] At the same time education was not neglected in Venice itself. In 1706 public lectures in moral philosophy, law, medicine, notarial procedure, rhetoric, and geography[3] were established at the Library of San Marco; while the Venetian College of Physicians was authorised to grant eight degrees in medicine yearly. Even as early as 1609 the Senate had turned its attention to the erection of a college for the education of indigent young nobles, and on August 17, 1619, with the help of private donations, the Accademia dei Nobili was opened on the Giudecca, for the purpose of instructing forty impoverished noble youths, whose

[1] *Bilanci generali*, cit., Vol. III.

[2] See the *Intro. stor. ossia rag.*, of the Abbé Matteo Franzoja, Secretary of the Academy (*Saggi scient. e letter. dell' Accademia di Padova*, Tom. I. Padova, 1786).

[3] Museo Civico, *Schede Cicogna*, B^a 495.

number was raised to seventy in the following century.[1]

When the Jesuits were expelled for the second time in 1773, the commissioners *ad pias causas* were ordered to draw up a scheme for opening schools to take the place of the Jesuit schools, which were much frequented.[2] Gaspare Gozzi submitted the project for government elementary and classical education. At the same time the State provided schools in each quarter of the city for the education of the people, where the *maestri di sestiere* taught the elements of religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic. "The question of public education is one of the fundamental duties of every government in view of its bearings on public and private welfare. This question has at all periods occupied the close attention of the Senate"; so runs the preamble to the law of May 12, 1781, which provides "for the enforcement of the many recent decrees on the subject, with the intent of extending and fortifying the provisions already in force so as to secure the better discipline of a sound literary education, especially among the young nobility who, by their social position, will be called on to fill so many important posts"; and the Riformatori, in a resolution passed by them, recommend a careful study of the steps necessary to bring the existing laws into full operation, as the government is determined that within a period of two years at most this object shall be secured, and that the youth of

[1] The Accademia dei Nobili cost the State 5600 ducats a year (*Bilanci generali*, Vol. III.). The limits of age for admission were from ten to thirteen. The nobles remained in the Academy up to the age of twenty. The direction was entrusted to the Padri Somaschi at the opening of the Settecento. The staff consisted of six professors, including the rector and vice-rector, five priests as under masters in the lower classes, two lay-brothers and six laymen for the service of the college. In 1734 a chair of civil law was founded. The government provided not only the teaching staff and the board and lodging of the students, but also their uniform, which consisted of a suit of black with a blue cloak (Bibl. San Marco, Cl. VII, ital. Cod. 1907).

[2] Arch. di Stato, Senato, Delib. *Roma Expulsis*, Reg. 29, fol. 58.

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Venice, and especially the patricians, shall profit by the means afforded them of acquiring Christian training and the ability to discharge their civic duties.[1]

Moreover, the government showed itself ever anxious to maintain the noble artistic traditions of the city, and its frequent, wise, and efficient provisions show the determination of the patriciate to allow no injury to the artistic patrimony of Venice, which owed the impressiveness of its aspect not merely to its natural site, but also to its monuments, pictures, statues, stuffs, and all the infinite variety of its art treasures. And this vigilance went hand in hand with works which prove that the patriciate still retained some remnants of its ancient grandeur. In the days when Venice appeared most demoralised and exhausted (1744–1751) she raised, as a bulwark against the waves of the Adriatic, that massive breakwater of the Murazzi, 4027 metres long at Pellestrina, 1200 metres long at Sottomarina, and spent about twenty million Venetian lire on this work, truly Roman in its boldness, — a monument of what the Republic was still capable of achieving during the very last years of her life.[2]

The more we study the history of Venice at this

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, Delib. *Roma Expulsis*, Reg. 32, fol. 14.

[2] The idea of the Murazzi was first broached by Padre Coronelli in a brochure of great rarity entitled *Proposte del padre Coronelli importanti al pubblico e privato, svelate e dilucidate co' disegni.* The Murazzi were built by the architect Bernardino Zendrini, mathematician to the Republic. The famous inscription —

AUSU ROMANO, ÆRE VENETO —

is to be found in many books, but not on the Murazzi (Paravia, *Epigr. Volg.* p. 46. Torino, 1850). The actual inscription runs thus:

UT SACRA ÆSTUARIA
URBIS ET LIBERTATIS SEDES
PERPETUUM CONSERVENTUR
COLOSSEAS MOLES
EX SOLIDO MARMORE
CONTRA MARE POSUERE
CURATORES AQUARUM
AN. SAL. MDCCLI
AB URBE CON. MCCCXXX

period the more cause we find for thinking that the decline was due chiefly to the conditions of the age and to the exhaustion of the political machinery, which, for a variety of inevitable reasons, was not susceptible of change. Its political constitution had rendered Venice great and powerful, and not only the patriciate but also the lower classes were accustomed to look upon it as inviolable and to nourish a profound reverence for the ancient institutions. The power of the aristocracy, surrounded by pomp and mystery, came to be regarded by the people as something almost divine, a sacred privilege of the upper classes, who in their turn looked upon government as their absolute right, tempered, however, by duties towards the larger and the lower classes. Such a conception of government did not conform to the dominant ideas of the new era which called for radical innovations. If the natural equality of mankind were once affirmed, the old edifice must inevitably fall to the ground never to rise again, and the ruling class shrank from demolishing what they knew themselves incapable of rebuilding. The rigidity of her institutions, to which the Republic owed her long life, was also the cause of her death. Change would have meant disintegration; and the old order was maintained with a tenacity not unlike that which induces the Court of Rome to reject all innovation in spirit or in letter and is the source of her strength. When Venice came into collision with those events which changed the course of human ideas, she was bound to perish. Events must be studied in their epoch, and every race in the light of its mission and its destiny. The infusion of new blood could not avail to save from ruin the patriciate, though, as a matter of fact, it was not yet utterly sunk in sloth and lethargy. After the wars of Candia and the Morea, with a view to replenishing the exhausted treasury, and in spite of the opinion of those who held that it

was better to pawn the revenue or the capital of the State, or even to sell one of the provinces rather than the patriciate, the *Libro d'oro* was thrown open to many families who acquired the title of Patrizio Veneto in return for gold.[1] But these additions to the patriciate took place at too great intervals of time to permit of their effectively renewing the blood of the Great Council, which must have felt itself near its end, if on February 22, 1774, it publicly admitted that the

[1] Among the foreigners admitted to the ranks of the nobility in the seventeenth century we find the Van Axels and Gheltofs from Holland; the Widmanns, originally porters (*bastazi*) in the German Exchange; the Fonsecas, Spanish sugar-merchants; the Cotoni, Greek bankers; from Bergamo, the Tascas, dealers in camelot; the Gozzi and Castelli, silk-mercers; the Maccarelli, wool-merchants; the Zanardi, who came to the lagoons, *miserabili et dolenti et pestapevere dal spezier del guanto all' ascension;* the Naves, paper-makers; the Giupponi, tape-makers; the Raspi, wine-merchants; the Bergonzi, silk and cloth-of-gold mercers at the sign of the "Golden Rose" at San Salvadore; the Pastas, naval and military mantle-makers; the Bettoni, druggists; the Linos, also druggists at the sign of the "Angel" at Rialto; the Benzoni (not to be confounded with the Lords of Crema), silk-mercers; the Cellini, brokers; the Bellini, cordwainers; the Pellicciolli, cloth-merchants; the Barzizzas and Carminati, bankers. From the valleys of the Bergamasque came also Giuseppe Persico, who lodged in the shop of a silk-mercer at San Lio, *servendo in essa e nella casa nei più umili servigi della medesima, fino andare per le strade a prendere l'acqua con bigòlo a pubblici pozzi per il servizio della cucina.* This Giuseppe later on opened a shop in the Merceria, at the sign of the "Crowned Fortune," where he sold cloth of gold and silk, and up to the very day when he bought the patriciate for one hundred thousand ducats, he continued to measure *colle sue mani la mercanzie a gente che comprava.* Maffio Albrizzi, who died in decrepitude in 1643, also came from Bergamo; he was a haberdasher, and from him descended the patrician family of the Albrizzi. The following Brescians were inscribed in the *Libro d'oro:* the Cassetti, silk-merchants; the Bonvicini, wool-merchants; the Bonlini, wax-sellers; the Acquisti, ironmongers. The Zolios were sausage-makers who, *praticavano a Rialto colla traversa bianca e manegotti;* the Luccas were sugar-merchants; the Lazzari from Trent, armourers; the Laghi, from the Grisons, wool-merchants; the Polvaros came from Milan; the Contenti were silk-mercers; Verdizzotti was the son of a tailor and, when a boy, led about a blind beggar; the Semenzi were corn-chandlers; the Curti, cattle-dealers; the Romeri, jewellers at the Rialto at the sign of the "Golden Hare"; the Toderini, Flemish and Venetian lace-merchants at the sign of the "Cardinal" in the Merceria; the Gallos, tanners; the Guerras were transport agents to the dyers of Venice; the Morelli, a poor family of Murano, made their money in the glass business; and so on (Bibl. Marc., Cl. VII, ital. Cod. 1908).

gravest danger threatened the Republic from the patent shrinkage of the numbers of the ruling aristocracy. In 1775 it invited forty noble families of the mainland to enroll themselves in the *Libro d'oro* without any burden whatsoever, but only nine accepted. The title of patrician had already lost its attractions, for inside the patriciate itself distinctions created by ancient descent and family pride continued to exist. The nobles of long pedigree regarded with contempt, and the populace with envy, these plebeians who, thanks to their wealth, assumed the patricians' robes. Anonymous satire, in prose and verse, which daily grew more pungent and petulant and openly attacked the Doge,[1] the Procuratori, and the Senate, was not likely to spare the man whose purse had won him a seat in the Great Council:

el se fa zentilomo e con stupor
dalla stalla alla reggia el va in t'un passo.[2]

But the new nobles were seldom called on to fill important posts, such as embassies to foreign courts;

[1] Niccolò Donato, elected Doge on April 5, 1618, held that high office barely a month. Gian Carlo Sivos, in his *Cronaca* (Bibl. Marc., Cl. VII, ital. Cod. 122, fol. 103), tells us that the avarice of his nephew Pietro *fu causa della presta sua morte.* It seems that the Doge had ordered a great banquet in the *Sala dello Scrutinio* at Eastertide as a proof of his lavish magnificence, but instead there was a lack of *quella quantità di robba che bisognava, perchè il nepote tenea la mano stretta, havendo anco data una mala soddisfatione alle gentildonne invitate, perchè non volse lasciarne entrare molte di esse.* The Doge fell ill of chagrin, while the nobles revenged themselves on his nephew by refusing to elect him to a high office. The Doge took this as a personal affront, suffered acutely, and died. A mocking epitaph records that

Qui giace il gran Donado testolina
Mercante e senator plusquam perfetto
Fatto Doxe morì per un banchetto
Stronzà da un suo nipote per rapina.

[2] Medin, *Storia,* cit., p. 390. The Venetian Gianfrancesco Businello, advocate and satirist, who flourished at the opening of the seventeenth century, has left these verses:

Un pezo de vilan de la valada
Un capel de castor porterà in testa,
Un ch' à portà sportele mete vesta,
Un zavater ga pan e vin d'intrada.

they were seldom elected to serve in the cabinet; and rarely did they succeed in securing alliances with the more ancient houses, which preferred to mingle only with their equals in lineage.[1] This rigid tradition of caste, which excluded any connection whatsoever with the rich middle class, was due to still another factor. All the sons of a patrician enjoyed equal privileges and rights. The absence of primogeniture had conferred a blessing in the earlier years of the Republic by preserving the peace among the noble families. For had cadets found themselves in a worse financial condition than the eldest sons, they would have used their political equality to disturb both the family and the State. We must further consider that family wealth accumulated in the hands of one member only would have roused the jealousy of the Republic; we have an instance in the case of three rich Cornaro brothers who were forbidden, under pain of banishment and confiscation, to take wives unto themselves. Moreover, this equality of family wealth allowed each member of a family to fill government offices, even the more costly ones which only a rich man could assume; while, on the other hand, the danger that family wealth, if divided, would be dispersed, was counteracted by the custom which led the whole family to live together without a division of property; it was usual for one brother only — and that the youngest — to marry.[2] As times changed, other needs came to disturb the ancient State of Venice, and in these altered conditions

[1] [Casanova], *Confutazione all' Amelot de la Houssaye*, III, 228, 229. Amsterdam, 1769. The *Espion chinois*, cit. (Vol. II, lett. 88) says: "Il y a ici deux ordres de citoyens, les nobles et les ignobles. Les uns et les autres tirent leur tige du même tronc: excepté que les premiers ont fait écrire leurs noms dans un livre d'or, et que les autres l'ont oublié; ainsi toute la différence est dans le livre. Il en est qui, pour réparer ce défaut de mémoire, prennant le parti de s'y faire inscrire, mais alors il faut payer une somme considérable à l'éditeur, de manière que le livre d'or est devenu un livre d'argent."

[2] De La Lande, *Voyage en Italie*, VII, 23. Genève, 1790.

it is probable that the restriction if not the abolition of privileges would have been of service to the Venetian patriciate. The aristocracy, which was not limited by primogeniture,[1] had nothing in common with the people, and, if it occasionally admitted a family risen from the people, it never sent its own members to swell the ranks of the commoners, as happens in England. A Peer of the United Kingdom who has sons among the commoners loves them, understands them, exchanges ideas, shares blood and name, but does not lose prestige, does not despise, and is not despised.[2] But as matters stood in Venice, the idea of abolishing, or at least of restricting, the right which every noble had to a share in the government was entertained only by the more turbulent members of the patriciate. The more advanced and liberal of the nobility never entertained the idea of altering the constitution, and confined themselves to fighting the little group of patricians who had concentrated the administration in their own hands, and to defending the prerogatives of the Great Council which had gradually been usurped by the Ten and the Inquisitors of State. The leaven of these reforms had been fermenting for many years, and the fierce debates aroused by Rinieri Zeno brought about the reform of the Council of Ten in 1628.[3] But these reforms made little change in the fundamental organisation

[1] We must note, however, that although primogeniture was not the rule some cases existed: for example, the lordships of Joppa and Ascalona in the Contarini family with hereditary knighthood; also the knighthoods in the Quirini and Morosini families. Nor was there any law prescribing equality of succession among the brothers in a family, though this did not alter the fact that all the brothers enjoyed equal political rights. See Tiepolo, *Rett. di alcuni equivoci nella Storia Veneta del Sig. Darù*, II, 359. Udine, 1828.

[2] Macaulay, *History of England*, Vol. I, Chap. I.

[3] The *Correttori delle leggi*, whose duty it was to restrain the various governmental officers within their proper limits, were appointed in 1553. They were five in number and held office for one year. The most important of their reforms belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably their action regarding the Ten in 1628 and in 1762.

of the State, and the conservative party which was in power, though willing to entertain progressive ideas up to a certain point, would not tolerate any tampering with the constitution. Scipione Maffei, the illustrious Veronese savant and poet, received a sharp rebuke for having ventured to advocate representative government for the dependencies of the Republic; and still severer measures were taken against the nobles who desired to curb the powers of the Ten and of the Inquisitors. Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1741, and Francesco Foscari in 1756, were confined to their houses; Niccolò Bon and Paolo Donà, in the latter year, were banished one to the monastery of Venda and the second to the fortress of Palma; in 1761 Angelo Quirini was interned in the castle of San Felice at Verona. The arrest of Quirini brought about the reform of 1762 with a view to appeasing the followers of the turbulent noble who were disaffected with the omnipotence of the Ten. Quirini was released in 1763, and returned to public life still inspired by his original views; in 1777 he made a journey to Switzerland and France, where he met and became friends with Voltaire.[1]

The populace took no part in these controversies, and the antagonism between the privileged classes and the proletariat which manifested itself in other States, confined itself in Venice to the Hall of the Great Council, where the struggle was fought out between the governing clique, which defended its position, and those members of the aristocracy who wished to restore the ancient distribution of administrative powers.[2] Not even when the flames of the French Revolution made their heat felt in the lagoons were there to be found many persons of weight who desired violent and sudden changes; and Pietro Mocenigo, who in 1784

[1] Ottolenghi, *L'arresto e la relagazione di A. Quirini* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, XV, 122, 139).

[2] Fulin, *Breve sommario di Storia ven.*, p. 76. Venezia, 1873.

proclaimed the need for civil equality and combated privileges and exemptions in his *Riflessioni dell' uomo in società*, four years later in his *Discorso sugli innovatori politici*, advocated a cautious progress and the gradual amalgamation of new and old without violent upheavals of the State. But in contradistinction to these moderate proposals, ominous passions swayed a section of the patriciate, inspired not by the love of liberty but by a desire to fish in troubled waters. As commerce declined and the larger part of the archipelago was lost, a body of indigent nobles gradually came into existence. They were without income of any kind, yet by right of birth they shared the sovereignty in the State. They were called *Barnabotti*, from the parish of San Barnaba, where they were originally lodged at the public expense; and they openly claimed from the Republic the means of living, and formed a venal and disorderly group in the Great Council.[1] These men readily embraced the new ideas which came from France, and cloaked their cunning, impudence, and greed under the mask of a love for liberty. In public they affected familiarity to ingratiate themselves with the people who paid them no heed; in the Council chamber they gave voice to the aims of the restless and discontented who are never wanting in a State. The threats and murmurs of these turbulent spirits found expression in the satires of the *piazza*, penetrated the government offices, and even found their way into the ballot boxes[2]; venomous invectives or fierce cries of rage and rancour, — half maledictions on the State, half vague prophecies of coming vengeance; for example, Venice is apostrophised as *la città dei tiranni*,

[1] The *Barnabotti* of Venice find an even more degraded parallel in the *poveri nobili* of Genoa, who lived on charity supplied by the Bank of San Giorgio and who openly sold their votes to the highest bidder at ducal elections.

[2] Morpurgo, *Marco Foscarini e Venezia nel sec. XVIII*, p. 135. Firenze, 1880.

(A)

(B)

A — Angelo Emo (1731–1792) — from a contemporary engraving.
B — Visiting Card of the Procuratore Giorgio Pisani — from the Collection in the Museo Civico

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and the writer goes on: *Tuto reduto in carestia! Benedeta l'anema del doxe Silvestro Valier, maledeta la vostra e dei vostri fioi; la giustizia di Dio fulmini i vostri granéri e le vostre canéve.* On another occasion in various places in the Ducal Palace were found scraps of paper bearing the letters: P. P. P. — I. I. I. — R. R. R. — F. F. F., and offering a reward to any one who could give the explanation, which ran thus: *Prudentia Patrum Periet — Imprudentia Iuvenum Imperat — Res Reipublicæ Ruunt — Fame Flamma Ferro* — (signed) *Gratis.*

The courage of the malcontents increased when the party of the *Barnabotti* found two bold leaders, Giorgio Pisani and Carlo Contarini. Pisani, unscrupulous, ingenious, and vehement, thundered from the tribune of the Great Council; attacked the government, inveighed against the oligarchy, the enemy of the people, and ended by covertly demanding an increase in the subsidy of the "poor nobles." Contarini, in his turn, painted in false colours *la plebe, che gemeva, e seminava per le strade quantità di questuanti.* The Doge Paolo Renier remarked that true patriotism consisted not in stirring up agitations, but in a unanimous effort to secure the greatness of the State, public safety, and common glory. On March 8, 1780, Giorgio Pisani was elected Procurator of San Marco by the votes of his followers. The Procurator, blossoming on the revolutionary stem, flung aside all restraint, and openly professed his intention to overthrow the old order, to sweep away Doge and Signory and rich alike, and to carry a kind of agrarian law in favour of the "poor nobles."[1] The Inquisitors, when convinced of the

[1] By way of asserting his liberal sentiments Pisani adopted a curious design on his visiting cards. The card displayed a youth with a star above his head, a cat with a pole surmounted by a liberty cap between its paws, a stone pedestal, a stretch of sea, the prow of a gondola, the mast and yards of a ship with a sail set on which is written *Il Procuratore Giorgio Pisani.* Those — they were many — who placed little reliance on the tribunician pose of Pisani remarked acutely that the youth with the star

reality of the plot, seized Pisani's papers and drew up the indictment with all secrecy. On the evening of May 29, 1780, while Pisani was giving a splendid banquet in the Procuratie, scraps of paper bearing the words *ancuo ingresso e doman processo — Ancuo bordelo e doman castelo*, were found scattered about the room; and in fact two days later the Procurator was arrested and deported to the castle of San Felice at Verona,[1] while Carlo Contarini was interned at Cattaro. When we consider the schisms, antagonisms, and violence which rent the aristocratic caste, it is amazing that the structure erected by Pietro Gradenigo should have survived so long without reforms.

might well represent Pisani himself with an Imperial planet above his head, while the cat symbolised his cunning.

[1] On the fall of the Republic Pisani incurred the suspicion of aristocrats and patriots alike, and retired to Ferrara after the peace of Campoformio. He published his *Memorie* under the title of *Vita, processi e pensieri di Giorgio Pisani ex-veneto*. Ferrara, 1798. Only the first volume was published. See also Vecchiato's apology for Pisani (Padova, 1890).

CHAPTER II

FINANCE — COMMERCE — INDUSTRY

LONG and frequently disastrous wars, coupled with the decline of commerce and industry, gradually exhausted the treasury. Public burdens, though numerous in their minute subdivisions,[1] were on the whole not oppressive. During the eighteenth century they brought in a revenue which varied between five and five and a half millions of ducats yearly.[2] The income did not cover the expenditure, which, as we have seen, was very heavy as regards the forces, even in time of unarmed neutrality, and considerable as regards

[1] The direct taxes were the *decima*, applied to every kind of income except that of advocates; the *campatico*, or land tax; the *dadia* or *colta;* the *sussidio ordinario*, or tax on estimated property; and the *tassa militare*, or war tax. The indirect taxes were the *quintello*, or five per cent, on indirect succession; the *messetaria*, or tax on contracts; the customs dues; the revenue from tobacco, salt, and the lottery; the tithe on minerals. The mint also yielded revenue not only from money coined, but also from operations conducted for private individuals. The mint administered the Funds, or *Monti*, which were exempt from taxation except in case of death or bankruptcy.

[2] *Bilanci generali*, cit., III, 357. Between 1736 and 1755 the lowest revenue return was in 1738, giving 4,825,265 ducats; the highest in 1749, giving 5,603,985 ducats. At that date the ducat corresponded to *lire italiane* 4.37. For the value of money see Part I, Vol. I, p. 157 of this work. We may add that in 1578 the *scudo veneto*, of the value of 7 *lire venete*, was coined. Its value went on increasing; in 1608 it was worth *lire venete* 8.8, while in 1739 it had reached the value of *lire venete* 12.8. The sequin, which in 1608 was worth *lire venete* 10.15, represented, in 1739, *lire venete* 22, at which figure it remained till the fall of the Republic. See Papadopoli, *Sul valore della moneta ven.*, Tables I and II. Venezia, 1885. See also Angelo Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, pp. 817 et seq. Torino, 1883, who gives the relation between the *lira veneta* and the *lira italiana* thus:

Lira veneta of 20 *soldi*	= *Lira ital.*	0.5228
Soldo of 12 *denari*	= " "	0.0261
Denaro	= " "	0.0022

the upkeep of the diplomatic service.[1] The Republic insisted on the maintenance of official state, but, like its citizens, it counterbalanced this display by parsimony in private. Public charities and public instruction received adequate support, but the pay of the magistrates from the highest to the lowest was very small,[2] and the expenditure in every department of the State was equally light.[3] In face of a steadily growing expenditure we cannot help admiring the efforts which were made to check extravagance. In 1576 the Board of Revisers (*scansadori*) was established, and in 1754 it was entrusted with the administration of the Monti di Pietà, or Public Pawnshops. Nevertheless the budgets usually closed with a heavy deficit, while the national debt gradually mounted till it reached the capital sum of eighty million ducats, entailing a yearly outlay of two and a half million ducats to meet the interest and the sinking fund.[4] In these financial straits the traditional wisdom of the Republic did not fail her. Determined efforts were made to reduce the debt, and in fact by 1797 it was considerably diminished. Equable incidence of taxation was steadily sought, public credit safeguarded, the administration of public moneys

[1] In 1755 the ambassador in Rome drew 11,749.9 ducats; in Vienna, 11,731.11; in France, 9738.15; in Spain, 10,764.22; the Secretary at Rome had 1008; at Vienna, Paris, and Madrid, 575.6; the Resident in England drew 5473.12; at Naples, 3735.12; at Milan, 4302.14; at Turin, 4299.12. Besides this there were extra expenses and the cost of the *spazzo*, or embassy courier. See *Bilanci generali*, cit.

[2] The Doge, the *Quarantie*, and the *Collegi* absorbed 60,000 ducats a year. The Council of Ten, which had to support its own officers, received from 40,000 to 50,000 ducats a year. *Bilanci generali*, cit.

[3] The highest figure for treasury supervision was reached in the year 1755, when this sum was 12,168 ducats. The stationary office spent from 11,378 to 21,953 ducats. Postal expenses ran from 3254 to 9637 ducats. *Bilanci generali*, cit.

[4] Castelnuovo, *Intorno a due scritture finanziarie della R. V.* (Atti del R. Istituto Veneto, 1901–1902, LXI, II). In 1736 the national debt cost 2,225,065.3 ducats, of which 383,809.12 were appropriated to the sinking fund. In 1755 it cost 2,355,000 ducats, of which 419,000 went to the sinking fund. *Bilanci generali*, cit.

THE Banco del Giro at Rialto—painting by Gabriele Bella. (Venice, Galleria Quirini-Stampalia)

Photo by Filippi

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carefully recorded.[1] Prudence was not permitted to hamper bold financial operations, as when, in 1754, the Senate accepted the report of the treasury in favour of a conversion from four to three and a half per cent.[2] Nor was the proposal of 1738 to admit private accounts at the *Banco di giro* less daring in conception; that bank had been founded in 1620 and enjoyed a prosperous career, frequently coming to the assistance of the government when in straits and helping to maintain public credit[3]; private individuals were allowed to open accounts with a State guarantee, this money was circulated free of imposts, and the deposit could be called up at sight. The traditional wisdom of Venetian finance continued intact to the very last; but confined as it was within rigid formulas, it lacked the elasticity required to meet new circumstances, when times became troubled by bold and innovating theories. That practical common sense which was almost the patrimony of the Venetian patriciate neglected the science of political economy which flourished so vigorously in the eighteenth century. The notable economic reforms carried out in Lombardy under Austrian rule, Tuscany, and Naples, were the product of distinguished economists; but Venetian authorities, like Giammaria Ortes, Scipione Maffei, Antonio Zanon, Francesco Mengotti, and Istrian professors, like Gian Rinaldo Carli, Marcello Marchesini, and others, who handled the questions of public economy, exercised but a scanty influence on the economic practice of the Republic; the illustrious Ortes, for example,

[1] Lampertico, *Avvertenza* to Vol. II, and F. Besta, *Introd.* to Vol. III of the *Bilanci generali*, cit.

[2] Lampertico, ibid.

[3] Soresina, *Il Banco giro di Venezia*, cit. Venezia, 1889. The price of money was not high. Pious foundations and confraternities offered capital on mortgages at four per cent. Merchants advanced at six per cent on bills. Nine per cent was considered usurious. All the same usury flourished, but chiefly on the impecunious and the gamblers. Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 248 et seq. Extracts from these memoirs, especially as regards Venetian trade, were published by Prof. G. Secrétant in a brochure *per nozze* (Venezia, 1903).

enjoyed a higher repute as a mathematician and metaphysician than as an economist, and, had he not been encouraged by Algarotti, would never have published his treatises.[1] The political economy of practical statesmen made no use of economic theories, and so the Republic frequently found itself face to face with conflicting tendencies without any scientific criterion to guide it.

The wars of Candia and the Morea exhausted the public treasury, while the growing audacity of the pirates, the competition of England, Holland, and other States in the Levant trade, and the upward tendency of taxation demanded by the Exchequer, all contributed to undermine Venetian commerce, which was already reduced to the narrow limits of home products, and, though fairly active in certain departments,[2] was no longer worthy of a city which once commanded the trade of the world. If the population of Venice did not actually decrease,[3] the standard of comfort declined daily. The government was under no illusions as to the real facts, and as early as the opening of the seventeenth century the Board of Trade reported that "this

[1] Pecchio, *St. dell' Economia pubblica in Italia*, p. 269. Lugano, 1849. Lampertico, *G. Ortes e la scienza economica del suo tempo*. Venezia, 1865. Errera, *St. dell' Economia Politica nei sec. XVII e XVIII negli Stati della R. V.* pp. 90, 247, 308. Venezia, 1877.

[2] Curti, *Memorie istoriche e politiche sopra la R. V.*, I, 245. Venezia, 1812.

[3] During the last two centuries of its existence the population of the Republic remained nearly stationary, except for a decline caused by the plague in 1630. The studies of Beloch (*Bevölkerungsgeschichte der R. V.*, cit.), and of Cecchetti (*Delle fonti delle Statistiche* in the Atti dell' Istit. Ven., serie IV, T. I, 1871–1872) corrected by Contento (*Il cens. della pop.*, cit. in the *Nuovo Arch. Ven.*, XIX, 223) give us the following figures of the population in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1624	142,804	1771	138,700
1633	98,244	1785	140,286
1642	120,396	1786	139,095
1696	132,637	1790	136,803
1761	152,841	1795	137,240
1766	140,256		

famous market has almost entirely lost its important trade, which has now definitely taken other routes."[1] In 1610 Leonardo Donà, nephew of the Doge, exclaimed in the Senate, "Where are now the ships and galleons whose numbers almost overfilled this port?"[2] — a cry which found a still more depressing echo towards the close of the Republic in the lament of Paolo Renier, the last Doge but one: "we have no armaments," he said, "either by sea or by land, no alliances. We subsist by chance and good luck." And yet we find Venice armed against the Uskoks and the Barbary pirates, and holding its own face to face with the Spanish buccaneers. She wisely opened safe ports at Spalato in Dalmatia and Durazzo in Albania; she never relaxed her efforts to encourage navigation, and granted privileges to ship-builders, master mariners, and seamen; she fostered insurance companies, and in 1775 she developed the grandiose scheme of "commerce and customs." At the Peace of Passarowitz (July 21, 1718), with the assistance of England and Holland, she entered on a commercial treaty with Charles VI and on another with the Sultan, Achmet III.[3] But the Turk continued to concede to England, France, and Holland privileges refused to the hated Republic.[4] Venice sought to

[1] Marin, *Storia del Commercio*, VIII, 103.

[2] Muniments of the Donà family, *Libro uff. e mag.*, quoted by Romanin, *Storia Doc.*, VII, 530.

[3] Venice was represented by Carlo Ruzzini, and Turkey by Ibrahim Effendi and Mehemed. The intermediaries were Robert Sutton, an Englishman, and Jacob Collyers, a Belgian. In the treaty Articles XIII to XXVI, which is the last, are almost entirely devoted to the definition of the commercial relations between Venice and the Turk. The treaty is published in the *Recueil historique d'actes, négotiations, mémoires et traitez depuis la paix d'Utrecht jusqu'au second Congrès de Cambray*, by M. Rousset, à la Haye, 1728, II, 411 et seq. (The treaty with Venice is on pp. 437 et seq.) Cappelletti, *Storia della Repubblica*, Tom. XI, reproduces the treaty translated from Latin into Italian. See also Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, Tom. V. Gotha, 1857, pp. 537 et seq.; and Bernardy, *L'ultima guerra turco-veneziana*, 1714–1718. Firenze, 1902.

[4] "La facoltà ottenuta dall' Inghilterra, poi dall' Olanda del libero traffico con loro legni e bandiere nel Levante non lasciarono a Veneti che la

counteract her loss by stipulating fresh commercial treaties with Saxony, Sardinia, Portugal, Denmark, and Russia, while the Senate called on the Venetian ambassadors for minute details on the economic conditions of the nations to which they were accredited. Their spirit of acute observation had not deserted them, and they presented admirably lucid reports not merely on the constitution, politics, religion, armament, and characteristics of the various countries of Europe, but also on their natural products, trade, industries, revenues, expenditures, and all the ramifications of their national life.[1]

ricordanza dell' antico loro commercio." *Relazione storica dell' origine, progresso e decadenza del commerzio de Veneziani*, written by Giannandrea Bon, Advocate and Fiscal to the Magistrato de sopra Dazii, on behalf of the government (1737). Bibl. Marc., Cl. VII, ital. Cod. 1531.

[1] Among the many reports presented by the representatives of the Republic at foreign courts it is worth while to cite the despatches of the Paduan, Cesare Vignola, who went to London as Venetian envoy in 1764 (Bibl. Marc., Cl. VII, ital. Cod. 2327). Vignola gives detailed information on the trade and industries of England. We may quote the following passage from a letter dated February 28, 1765 (fol. 334 of the MS.), where the writer speaks of a new kind of clay for the manufacture of pipes: "Nel mezzo di qualche seria applicazione, a cui mi sono dato volontariamente, per rendermi meno inutile che sia possibile alli Sovrani riguardi dell' Ecc.mo Senato, non ometto di gettar l'occhio sopra alcuna di queste Manifatture Inglesi e particolarmente sopra quelle, delle quali ne è mancante il Ser.mo Dominio. Non so per qual combinazione mi venne fatto vedere ne' giorni scorsi la Terra, o sia Creta, che qui adoperasi per fabbricar Pippe. Nell' esaminarla non potei persuadere me stesso che non se ne possa trovar di consimile anche negli stati di V. V. E. E. Per questo cogliendo l'occasione della Nave Inglese nominata *L'Imperatore Romano*, che stà per sciogliere a momenti per cotesti Lidi, ho creduto mia doverosa attenzione di spedirne una Mostra a cotesto gravissimo Magistrato, onde si possa riconoscere, se di equale se ne trovi nelle suddette Provincie. Tanto più poi mi sono animato a ciò fare quanto mi è noto, che persona suddita che di passaggio si ritrova in Londra, non è lontana di assumersi di erigere costà una Fabbrica e di condurre qualche abile operajo, perchè siavi certezza, che in qualche pubblico Territorio esista la materia prima, necessaria ad un tal Manifattura . . . La Creta, ossia la Terra in questione, si trova nelle Provincie Occidentali di questo Regno e particolarmente nei Terreni umidi, oléosi e a piè de' Monti. Essa è al di presso consimile alla Terra da Macchie, e qui se ne fa gran consumo anche dai Fabbricatori de' Panni. Quando la si raccoglie, è umida, oleosa, e pesante. Col tempo poi diviene arida e secca. Il suo colore naturale non è veramente bianco ma il tormento del fuoco è quello che rende candida la Pippa. Qui si custodisce

Trade, however, had now ceased to attract the Venetians; commerce and industry were despised by the patricians, more especially by those recently ennobled. We have as illustrious exceptions the Doge Marco Foscarini, who established a coral factory at Pontelungo for the working of coral brought from Dalmatia and the Levant; also one of the Zenobio family, who, in the last years of the Republic, despatched shiploads of grain to America and realised his house property and land to raise the funds necessary for trading. But these were exceptions, and the rich preferred to invest in estates on the mainland.[1] The collapse of trade, undermined by competition and by heavy duties, was marked by a series of bankruptcies, which neither preventive legislation nor severe penalties imposed by the Board of Trade were able to hinder. The *messetaria*, which in the palmy days of Venetian trade was the sole tax imposed on commercial contracts, was followed by numerous and burdensome duties, "da altri pesi addossati ai bastimenti, dai esorbitanti dispendi delle contumacie, peste, lazzaretti, et altro; dalle tante spedizioni in doane diverse con numerosi ministri e stanchezzi dalla soggezione delle arti, dall' inviluppo dei vincoli che encatenano la libertà della mercatura."[2] The officials entrusted with the

con tanta gelosia questa Terra, che se un Capitano Inglese osasse di trasportarne in esteri Stati, soggiacerebbe alla pena pecuniaria di 100 Lire Sterline. Quella poca, che io potei industriosamente procurarmi, sarà in piccola Cassetta presentata a cotesto gravissimo Magistrato dalla ditta Salamon Treves, mio corrispondente e nella medesima vi troverano pure V. V. E. E. poche sementi di foglia di tabacco di Spagna, e poca terra naturale d'Avana, con la quale si mescola, e si dà il colore al Tabacco. Senza detta terra non avrebbe il Tabacco di Spagna quel bel colore, per cui tanto si raccomanda."

[1] "Le commerce de Venise est bien loin d'être en un état florissant, et cela pour diverses raisons. . . . Il y a de grands droits sur les marchandises. Les gens de qualité tiennent le trafic au dessous d'eux et quand les marchands sont devenus riches et capables d'un plus grand négoce ils le quittent pour la plus part et achettent la noblesse." Misson, *Nouvelle voyage d'Italie* (1688). Supplement to Addison's *Remarques sur l'Italie*, IV, 53. Paris, 1722.

[2] *Scrittura 22 Sett. 1717 dei Deputati al commercio e V Savii alla*

supervision of commerce did not cease to suggest the necessary steps to meet the evils, while the merchants made lively representations in favour of a reduction of dues which would secure *facilità alle navi di praticar questo porto*.[1] And yet in 1684 the government re-imposed the impost duties, which had been abolished twenty-two years previously, and in 1751 they withdrew certain reductions of customs granted in 1736.[2]

But meanwhile foreign shipping tempted by the lowness of customs dues had begun to frequent the ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Ancona, and Trieste,[3] the last two proving especially formidable rivals, who disputed with Venice the commercial supremacy in the Adriatic. Ancona was declared a free port in 1732,[4] while Trieste flourished on the privileges continually granted her by Austria. Giovanni Alvise Mocenigo, ambassador in France, wrote, on September 4, 1751, that he had

mercanzia, published per nozze Bisacco-Palazzi, p. 12. Venezia, 1872. The Savî and Deputati add (p. 27): "Quel numero innumerabile de agravi, e quel popolo de ministri, che per varie e diversi funzioni et impieghi sommamente affligono e bastimenti e merci a causa respettivamente della loro introduzione nei porti, e dai loro discarichi, contumazie, lazzaretti, bastazi, fanti, priori, guardiani, nodari, cogitori ed altri che hanno sempre dato motivo di reclami, di ricorsi e di lacrime."

[1] *Scrittura inedita di Simone Giogalli, Negoziante Veneto del sec. XVII.* Published per nozze Reali-Beretta. Venezia, 1856.

[2] Occioni-Bonaffons, *Del commercio di Ven. nel sec. XVII*, p. 19. Venezia, 1891.

[3] Giannandrea Bon, in his report we have quoted, writes: "Gl' Inglesi, Olandesi ed altre nazioni principiarono a frequentare que' porti invitati dal viaggio più corto e commodo e dalle agevolezze loro accordate." The Board of Trade, under date of August 22, 1769, declare that "la guerra all' industria che ci venne resa con esenzioni, con privilegi, e con alettamenti dai vicini emoli Porti con danno evidentissimo di questa Piazza, delle nostre Arti e Navigazione e del pubblico Erario" (Arch. di Stato, Savî alla Merc., *Scritt.*, B^a 227).

[4] Giannandrea Bon wrote thus about Ancona: "La Corte di Roma colla franchigia concessa in Ancona, mancato quel zelo che scomunicava coloro avevano commerzio con gli infedeli, ed eretici, invita ella i medesimi nel suo stato, le permette libertà di coscienza, gli dona sicurezza e protezione; tanto l'interesse acceca anche le persone più sacre, e la vince sopra la religione. In fatti è ben corrisposta. Le merci più preciose arrivate in Ancona sono prevenute da Ragusi ed Albania Turca."

gathered from one of the French ministers that the Court of Vienna was about to take steps *per erigere Trieste in deposito del commercio dell' Adriatico,* and tendered the following prudent advice: if, he argued, the Venetian government would adopt measures for improving their commercial system, it would be difficult for the port of Trieste to expand, while the port of Venice would certainly assume a growing activity; if, on the other hand, everything was left to chance without study of the question, without forethought, without the adoption of measures suited to the altered circumstances, Trieste would certainly owe her aggrandisement to this culpable neglect.[1] The government of the Republic cannot perhaps be accused of carelessness, but it certainly displayed irresolution. No sooner had it granted a concession than it repented and returned to its ancient theories of protection under the influence of those who remained obstinately attached to the past; as, for example, the patrician Almorò Giustinian, who declared in 1783 that "le merci forestiere, singolarmente nei generi ai quali possono supplire le industrie dello Stato, esser dovrebbero proibite, in modo da non permettere l'ingresso neppure col pagamento del dazio."[2]

This rigid protectionist system of customs naturally encouraged smuggling, which has always been one way, though an illicit one, of inculcating free trade and proving its utility. The earliest notices on the subject of smuggling and on the steps taken to check it are to be found in the papers of the *Cattaver* (1280); and the series of enactments for the repression of fraud in the lading of

[1] Published per nozze Cecchini-Andreoli. Venezia, 1876. On this question of the growth of Trieste, see the report of the Board of Trade, *Sull' ingrandimento di Trieste nel sec. XVIII.* Drawn up in 1768 and published per nozze Guaita-Gozzi (Venezia, 1879); and Marchesi, *Le condizioni commerciali di Venezia di fronte a Trieste nel sec. XVIII.* Venezia, 1885.

[2] Benzoni, *L'accademia dei nobili in Cà Zustinian a Venezia* (in the *Antologia Ven.*, Anno II, n. 6, p. 331. Feltre, 1901).

ships and for the protection of commercial privileges, is continued in unbroken succession during the following centuries. The steady rise in the customs duties increased the activity of the smugglers, and the terrors of the law failed to damp their ardour; in armed bands they boldly broke through the customs cordons, tore down palisades, and wounded and slew the excisemen. In 1617 the Senate appointed three of its members as customs commissioners. Smuggling was commonest on board the merchant galleys, especially those that traded to Dalmatia and Albania. On July 10, 1625, the Board of Trade received orders to draw up a *distinta, particolar et intiera nota* of all bills of lading.[1] The Turks resident in Venice were among the most active of the smugglers.[2] In 1621 the Doge Antonio Priuli had granted to the Turkish merchants, as an exchange house, the great palace built originally by the Pesaro family close to San Giacomo dall' orio, which passed from them to the Dukes of Ferrara. But the *dannoso et pernicioso abuso* was not confined to any particular class, and we find *persone d'ogni condizion*, including the patricians themselves, engaged in smuggling, as is proved by a decree of the Senate dated December 27, 1640. To deal with this abuse the Senate, in 1716, appointed a new *Inquisitore sopra dazi*. But the repeated erection of new offices was of no avail to remedy the evils which were eating out the heart of Venetian commerce, and the five commissioners appointed in 1703 to assist the Board of Trade frequently found themselves in opposition to the Board itself, and their office did not last for more than fifty years.

With the decline of Venetian commerce came the collapse of her industries. Fisheries in the lagoon and in the Adriatic, and market gardening on the islands

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Mar*, Reg. 83, fol. 94.
[2] Ibid., fol. 198, 200.

of the estuary still flourished; they employed about thirty thousand souls, and after supplying the capital and some of the provinces, brought in a revenue of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats by trade with other States.[1] Glass, arms, soap, wax, stuffs, were still exported to distant countries; trade in woollen caps was active in Barbary and the Levant: Venetian drugs, especially *triaca*, were in great demand in Turkey. River navigation, though not so flourishing as it once was, still survived. Trade along the land routes, except the one over the passes of Pontebba and Primolano, languished. Craftsmen and dealers, artificers and merchants, from all countries continued to meet in great numbers at the Ascensiontide Fair, which still retained its position in spite of the dangerous competition of the great Fair at Senigallia, instituted by Pope Clement XII. But Venetian industries suffered from the rigid adherence to trade secrets and the empirical methods of the past, which prevented them from holding their own in competition with other nations who had availed themselves of scientific discoveries. The praiseworthy efforts of private individuals were powerless to infuse new vigour into native industry, which found itself unable to face the altered conditions either by its innate skill or through the protection afforded by the government, though some few industries allied to arts were still able to rival the products of the preceding centuries, especially those which dealt with furniture or dress.

The glass-workers of Murano still knew how to wed the fine taste of the earlier models to the prevalent barocco style without any sacrifice of harmony. The art of glass-blowing reached its highest possible perfection in the gradation of colours, in enamels, in the imitation of chalcedony, in the preparation of that glittering composition called *avventurina*, it is said,

[1] Lamberti, *Memorie*, loc. cit.

from the fortuitous discovery of the compound by Vincenzo Miotti in the first years of the Seicento. Miotti belonged to the illustrious family which, in company with the Briani, lent an impulse to the bead manufacture and to all other branches of the glass works at Murano.[1] In 1606 Girolamo Magagnati, after continual experiments, succeeded in colouring crystal while retaining its transparency, and cutting it in facets so as to enable him to imitate precious stones. To Magagnati is likewise due the substitution of crystal panes in windows instead of the older bottle-glass roundels. Liberale Motta carried the making of looking-glasses to perfection, and in 1680 he turned out mirrors of a size hitherto unknown. The trade in glass continued to yield handsome returns during the seventeenth century, until the furnaces of France, of England, and above all of Bohemia, thanks to new mechanical and chemical discoveries, ousted the hand-worker and the blowpipe.[2] The workman of Murano, relying on his native artistic instinct and on the long traditions of his craft, contemptuously rejected every innovation, and treated as an outlaw any one who dared to abandon the inveterate methods of the art.[3] For example, Giuseppe Briati, with laudable initiative, went as a workman to Prague; when he returned to his native island in 1736, he secured a patent for working glass *al modo di Boemia*, but his fellow craftsmen pursued him with such rancour that in 1739 he was obliged to petition the Council of Ten to be allowed to transfer his furnaces to the parish of the Carmine in Venice. Again, in 1774,

[1] Zanetti, Vinc., *Sull' avventurina artificiale*. Venezia, 1873.

[2] Molinier, *Venise, ses arts décoratifs*, cit., p. 208.

[3] "Leurs manufactures de draps, de verre, et de soye n'égalent pas celles des autres pais. Au lieu qu'une nation marchande doit être toujours pour les nouvelles modes et disposée à changer selon les conjonctures et les occasions qui se présentent; les Vénitiens au contraire sont pour ainsi dire esclaves de leurs anciens droits et de leurs vieilles costumes, ce qui tourne fort à leur préjudice." Addison, additions to Misson, loc. cit.

when a professor of chemistry suggested certain improvements in the construction of the furnaces the Murano glass-blowers petitioned the government to reject the scheme, adding, with a touch of irony, that practice, as frequently happened, was not in harmony with the illustrious professor's theories. But by this time the old-fashioned method of the blowpipe had been universally abandoned for the mould and the wheel, and that beautiful industry, which still numbered three hundred and forty[1] craftsmen between Venice and Murano, languished and was swept away by the competition of hundreds of foreign workshops. Toward the close of the Republic there was a revival of the art, and specimens not unworthy of Murano's ancient glory were produced by the Miotti, Bigaglia, Seguso, Mestre, Barbini, Gastadello, and Motta. Nor were efforts to adopt modern methods quite unknown, and Giorgio Barbaria, in 1790, opened a furnace for making black glass bottles on the English lines.

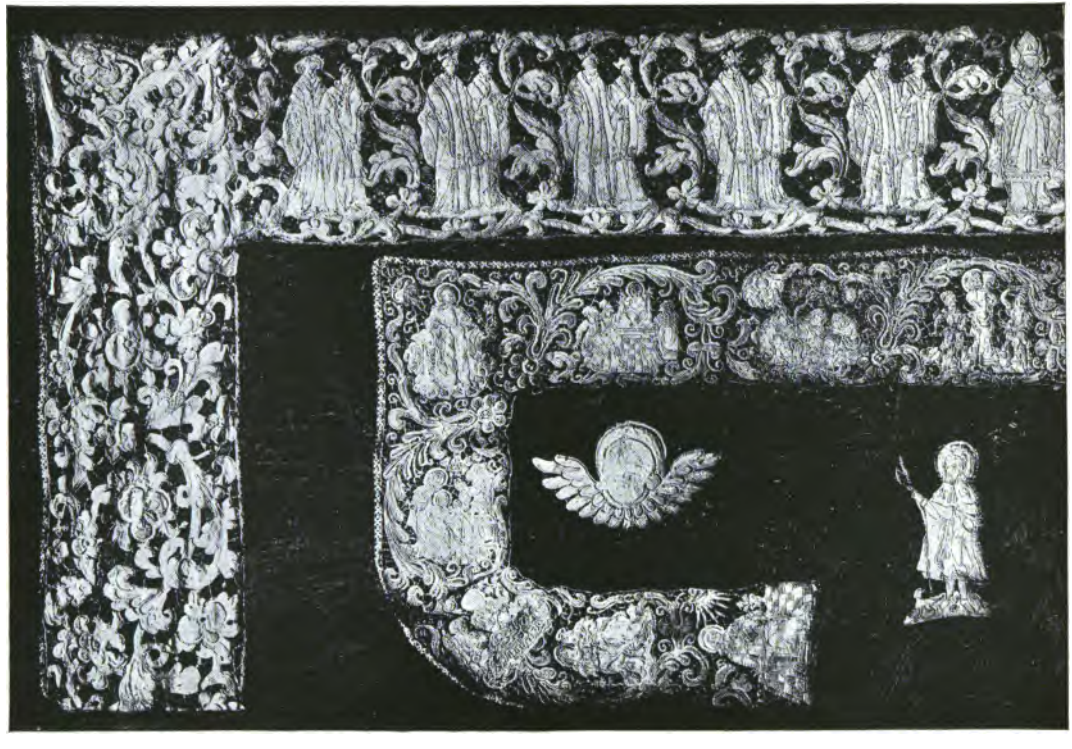
Foreigners, however, fully appreciated the artistic taste of the Venetian artificers and sought to introduce it into their factories. In spite of the severe penalties against migration, artisans passed from Murano to England to work in crystal for the Duke of Buckingham, while two famous glass-blowers of Murano, Giacomo and Alvise Luna, went to Tuscany on the invitation of the Grand Duke Cosimo II. In 1670 Colbert persuaded other Muranese workmen to bring the secret of Venetian mirror-making to France, where in 1665 the *Manufacture royale des glaces à miroir* had already been founded.

The lace industry, already flourishing in the Cinquecento, reached its highest technical development in the seventeenth century. Church vestments and personal linen and dress were adorned with masterpieces of the

[1] *Ristr. gen. dell' anagr. per gli anni 1766–1770* in Lampertico's *G. M. Ortes*, cit.

needle and bobbin. The *punto tagliato a fiorami*, which is distinguished by a narrow cord running round the design, came into vogue about the middle of the seventeenth century, and is certainly the most sumptuous of all the laces. But this beautiful industry also suffered from foreign competition. Colbert brought Venetian lace-makers to France, and challenged *punto di Venezia* by *punto di Francia*, while he forbade the introduction of Venetian lace into France. At Rheims a lace factory with special privileges was opened, and Venetian lace girls under the direction of Maria Colbert, the minister's niece, a nun in the convent of Sainte Claire, held the market. Other factories at Alençon, Argentan, Chantilly, Gisors, Sédan, and Charleville sprang into being; while Bedford, Buckingham, and Dorset, in England, and Brussels, Malines, and Antwerp in Belgium, actually sent their products to the Venetian market; and Venetian factories, which had shown the way to the rest of the world, came in their turn to imitate the laces of France and Flanders and obtained privileges from the government for their products.

During the last years of the Republic some Venetian industries displayed an exquisite grace of design, and taste in ornamentation reached a refinement and delicacy, hitherto unsurpassed, in furniture, laces, stuffs, — everything, in short, which had to do with the person or the house. The art of metal working had lost none of its traditional beauty, and displayed its wonted elegance not only in objects of *virtu* but even in the most ordinary utensils in daily use. The bronze-founders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced such masterpieces as the andirons that were recently in the Palazzo Calbo-Crotta, the gates of Sansovino's Loggetta, the work of Antonio Gai and the chancel gates in the Scuola di San Rocco by Giuseppe Filiberti. Notwithstanding the somewhat impure style of the seventeenth and the rather feeble style of the eighteenth



VENETIAN Point Lace *alla Rosa*, called also *Tagliato a Fiorami* (XVII century). (Burano, Chiesa di S. Martino)

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century, domestic utensils belonging to these two centuries bear the imprint of a refined artistic sense, which manifests itself in bronze, copper, iron, cast or wrought into candlesticks, lamps, coffers, inkpots, jars, andirons, snuffers, braziers, *scaldini*, warming-pans, keys, and so on.

Venetian pottery, though not produced in abundance, possessed grace of form and design. The potter Francesco Vezzi, who went to Saxony to master his craft, Bertolini of Murano (1753), Hewelke of Dresden (1757), Geminiano Cozzi of Modena (1765), put upon the market vases copied from the Chinese and dinner services, in which, beneath a very transparent varnish, the colours were gracefully adapted to the mouldings, and patterns of ribbon and wreaths wound and unwound themselves round the borders. To complete the set the potter would add to the plates and dishes, with their flowers and delicate pale roses, little groups of goddesses and *amorini* and shepherdesses of Arcadia to deck the tables of the great, —groups which recall the exquisite early designs. The last of the Venetian porcelain manufactories was that of the Cozzi, whose earlier mark was the name of Venice, stamped in full, and then the red anchor. The business lasted down to 1812.

The art of the tapestry-weavers in the eighteenth century could boast the delicate designs of Pietro Davanzo and of the Roman Antonio Dini, who was assisted in his work by his daughters Lucia and Giuseppa.[1] The stamped-leather makers, who used to number seventy-one shops, were reduced to four in the eighteenth century, though they were able, in 1790, to undertake a contract for one thousand pieces, which

[1] Of the works of Dini, who had a tapestry loom in Venice from 1760 to 1769, we still possess the standard of the church of Santa Maria Mater Domini; the seats and backs of the twelve armchairs by Brustolon, now in the Museo Civico; and the carpet of the church of the Fava.

were splendidly executed.[1] As a proof of the excellency to which the manufacture of artistic stuffs had attained, we have the gold brocade of the baldachino belonging to the Scuola di San Rocco, ordered in 1706, which cost five hundred ducats. And yet at Venice fashion preferred the artistic fabrics of France in spite of the fact that Venetian taste found its admirers in foreign countries; for example, in 1750, Austria tempted to Trieste, by promises of handsome payment, several Venetian craftsmen, among them a Locatelli, a master in the making of velvets. It was no vain boast that Goldoni places in the mouth of Anzoleto, his silk-weaver: "Manca in sto paese dei ottimi desegnadori? Venezia no xe scarsa de bei talenti. In tutte le scienze la xe stada sempre felice: e adesso più che mai in ste lagune fiorisce i bei spiriti e 'l bon gusto e le novità."[2] The spirit of refinement which animates the minutest details of every-day life at this period is evidenced in the very advertisements by which shopkeepers called attention to their wares. These usually displayed the sign of the shop, and the most attractive were those of the Merceria, where silk and cloth-of-gold could be purchased.

But good taste alone could not save the Venetian market. Abundance and ease of production, more especially in the case of goods that were not purely ornamental, was essential. In 1617 and 1697 the Republic, in order to foster native industries, forbade the import of foreign cloth, and furthermore compelled its subject provinces to purchase certain goods, such as wool, cloth, and cotton, in Venice only. At

[1] [Marachio], *Istituto di tenere in corpo le arti.* Venezia, 1794.

[2] *Una delle ultime sere di carnevale*, Act IV, scene xv. In other passages also Goldoni gently ridicules the fashion which demanded only foreign products. In his *Femmine puntigliose* (Act II, scene viii) the Countess Clarice, when admiring a stuff of a handsome pattern, exclaims: *Bisogna poi dirla: gran Parigi! In Italia non sanno fare di queste stoffe;* but as soon as she learns that the stuff is really Venetian, she says: *Quando non è di Francia, non la voglio. . . . Per esser bella deve esser di Francia.*

PICTURE used as a Standard by the Guild of Silk Weavers.
(Venice, Archæological Museum in the Palazzo Ducale)

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the opening of the Settecento upwards of one thousand five hundred hands were engaged in the wool trade, but towards the close of the Republic the output, which in the sixteenth century reached a total of twenty-eight thousand webs a year, had fallen to six hundred webs.[1] So, too, the eight hundred silk looms, which in the middle of the eighteenth century employed twelve thousand hands and yielded forty thousand pieces of cloth-of-gold and eighty thousand of plain silk, had fallen, by 1792, to sixty, employing only one thousand hands.[2]

In 1710 the Senate, with a view to defeating competition, granted leave to manufacture cloth in the Dutch and English manner both in Venice and on the mainland. This measure gave some assistance to the provinces, where water power was available to supplement hand labour, but it still further depressed the industry in the city of Venice, where weaving could be carried on by manual labour only.[3] Similarly, with a view to fostering silk-weaving in Venice, the introduction of manufactured silk, even from the provinces, was rendered illegal, and, further, the sale of raw silk abroad was prohibited to the incalculable damage of the grower.[4] Such odious restrictions could not last long, but by the time they were gradually removed, many Venetian industries had already migrated from the lagoon; by the eighteenth century the silk-weavers had settled in Friuli, Vicenza, and Padua; the cloth-makers in Schio and Follina; the cotton-spinners in Cividale and Tolmezzo; the coppersmiths flourished in Friuli, and the product of wrought iron was concentrated in the Bresciano, whose smiths between the years 1794

[1] Andrea Tron's discourse on the Arts and Crafts (1784), Romanin, IX, 85.
[2] Lamberti, *Mem.*, loc. cit.
[3] Marin, *St. del Comm.*, VIII 235 et seq.
[4] Ibid., pp. 224 et seq.

and 1797 supplied one hundred and fifty thousand muskets to Spain alone.

The guilds of Venice, however, were still numerous, even during the last years of the Republic; and although many of them had fallen low, some — such as the dyers, the furriers, the silk-spinners, the gold-thread and gold-leaf makers, the hatters, the wig-makers, the fruiterers, and the bargees — still enjoyed sufficient revenues to enable them to build or to restore their halls. But the days were long gone by when a trade guild could adorn its chapel or its chapter-house with pictures by Bellini, Carpaccio, or Titian; the brethren were now content to see some unknown and feeble dauber represent the process of their art in miserable little canvases — themselves a testimony to the universal decline — which were exposed in the churches on the feast of the patron saint and on other religious solemnities.[1] The trade guilds were still close bodies; admission was obtained, as in the past, only by paying an entrance fee, serving apprenticeship, and passing an examination, which consisted in producing, in the presence of a commission, some object relating to the craft.

But provisions which in other circumstances were salutary, only proved pernicious in the extraordinary complications of the new ideas and in face of current events. Venetian industries might have revived in the warm air of liberty; but the master craftsmen, seeing their revenues dwindling, made every effort to exclude all who were not *titolati in mariegola*. The government was not blind to the errors which induced the steady decline of industry, but instead of taking energetic steps to remove the old defects, such

[1] In the cellars of the Ducal Palace, among a number of pictures, covered with dust and for the most part worthless, were found some which rudely represent the processes of various Venetian crafts and are of some value as illustrating the costume of their date. A few years ago they were taken from their obscure abode and hung on the walls of a small room in the Museo Archeologico in the Ducal Palace.

as State interference, protection, monopoly, it had recourse to compromises and inefficient makeshifts. In 1714 and 1717 the Senate asked the Board of Trade and the Commissioners on Commerce whether it would be desirable to throw open the trade guilds, as had been attempted in 1577 and 1630[1]; the answer, dated January 5, 1719, was favourable to the principles of free trading, but with restrictions, for example, that the guilds should be thrown open to Venetian subjects only. After six days the Senate passed the following abstract resolution, "that the close guilds of this city ought to be thrown open as regards victuallers, merchants, and manufacturers," but it was left to the discretion of the various magistracies to give effect to this recommendation. This afforded the guilds the opportunity to oppose the government proposals, and, as a matter of fact, only a few of the crafts related to the woollen trade opened their doors. In 1751 an *Inquisitore alle Arti* was appointed, and we must admit that the reports of some government offices show a wise tenacity in demonstrating that the system of close guilds was really the cause of the distress among the lower classes, and that although the peculiar site of the city, which was forced to subsist on imported goods, rendered it possibly advisable that certain guilds — the victuallers, for instance — should remain closed in order to prevent the creation of undesirable corners in the necessities of daily life, yet it was intolerable that manufactures and industries should not be open to all, even to foreigners.[2] These proposals and resolutions bore no fruit, and the majority of the guilds, desirous of retaining the traditions of their craft and the ancient rules of protection and privilege, resisted every attempt at reform. The government, on the other hand, with no fixed principles

[1] See the documents published by Sagredo in his *Consorterie delle Arti edificative*, pp. 187 et seq.

[2] Ibid., pp. 190 et seq.

to guide it and faced by a strong current of opposition, legislated from day to day, with the result that its action was frequently contradictory. The *Inquisitore alle Arti*, Paolo Quirini, declared, in 1759, that "foreign competition is always useful: if foreign excels native, it thrives; if it is inferior, it falls."[1] Such is the law of nature; power is everything in this world; the weak and incapable are bound to yield to the vigorous and courageous. But the Republic, which in the past had not hesitated to associate its own people with Germans, Turks, Armenians, Albanians, Greeks, and other foreign races, offering them hospitality, to their mutual benefit as far as commerce was concerned, now, in its declining years, when it was proposed to throw open the guilds, took a resolution which ran counter to its own traditions and to the sound theories of the Inquisitor Paolo Quirini.

The people of the Grisons, who in virtue of commercial and political alliances stipulated in 1603 and 1706, flocked in large numbers to Venice, exercised their callings, usually of shoemakers, knife-grinders, and pastry-cooks, won admission to their respective guilds, and had prospered to such an extent as to rouse the jealousy of every Venetian of their trade; but now they gradually saw themselves deprived of their liberties, until they were finally forbidden the exercise of any calling, and in 1766 they were obliged to abandon the State. The economic decay of any nation is invariably characterised by alternations of fear which suggests restrictions, and of hope which counsels freedom. For example, in 1665, in order to protect the manufacture of majolica and to defeat the competition of Sèvres in France and of Meissen in Saxony, the government prohibited the importation of terra cotta; but seeing that the art did not revive in Venice, in spite of this measure, it adopted a more liberal attitude, and in

[1] Sagredo, *Consorterie delle Arti edificative*, p. 108.

1728 it conceded to Giovan Battista Antonibon the right to open a shop in Venice for the sale of the earthenware produced in his potteries at Nove, near Bassano. In 1736 it exempted from duties the pottery owned by Caffo of Bassano, and in 1758 it even went the length of permitting the Hewelkes, husband and wife, to erect in the State of Venice a manufactory of Saxony china. Yet again, departing from their principle of keeping the crafts distinct, the government, in 1753, allowed the brothers Bertolini of Murano to add to their enamel, glass, and bead industry a manufactory of majolica. The Republic went further: it offered, with excessive liberality, subsidies and prizes in money; to encourage the silk industry it spent a million in thirteen years, and in eleven years nine hundred and forty thousand in attempting to foster the Paduan ribbon trade.[1] In 1765 it accorded to Geminiano Cozzi a monthly subsidy of thirty ducats for twenty years "in order to encourage him to extend the production of his universally popular porcelain, to the benefit of the citizens and the preservation of the State revenue."[2]

In 1773 the Inquisitore alle Arti opened an inquiry into the condition of the trade guilds, which still occupied thirty thousand hands, and administered a series of interrogatories to which the various wardens had to respond. Let us take as an example the case of the once flourishing goldsmiths' guild, and the warden's answers. They will give us a clear and accurate view of the regulations which obtained in most other guilds, of the history of this graceful art and of its rapid decline. The Inquisitore begins by asking when the guild was founded, and the warden replies: "The guild had its happy birth in this serene metropolis in the thirteenth century, and has ever been regarded with kindly eye by the government, zealous

[1] Romanin, VIII, 379.
[2] Drake, *Notes on Venetian Ceramics*. London, 1868.

and careful of its welfare and advancement as being at all times recognised as an ornament of the State." Asked at what age apprentices are received and how long they must serve before they can become master goldsmiths, the warden answers: "Apprentices must be either natives of Venice or of the State of Venice; they must be between seven and eighteen years of age; they are admitted to a five years' apprenticeship under some master goldsmith, and under the obligation to remain for the whole of that time with the same master unless he gives them leave to take service under another master goldsmith. The apprentices at present number as many as 190." After serving their apprenticeship they become hands for twelve years. "On the close of this period, if they wish to become masters they must pass an examination which consists in making with their own hands one of the most difficult objects known to the craft, or branch of the craft, into which they aspire to pass as master; the examination is carried on in the presence of experts, and if the candidate passes he is then submitted for ballot before the council of the guild, and if accepted he becomes a master goldsmith. Without a master's certificate no one is allowed to open a shop in any part of the city, nor yet to work on his own account, in any private house or in a shop. The number of hands is at present 50." The warden goes on to say that "besides the hands who have served their apprenticeship there is a considerable number who have not passed through apprenticeship, Venetians, provincials, and even foreigners, who are admitted on recognition of their capacity. Their number at present is 14." "The shops open and working in the city number 170. Some of them have a considerable capital at their back, some but a small capital, and very many with no capital at all." After dwelling on the various branches (*colonnelli*) of the guild, the warden goes on to describe its constitution: "Once a year the general

Boat Builders — from an engraving
by Domenico Lovisa

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chapter of our craft, met in our guild hall at San Giovanni di Rialto, under the auspices of Sant' Antonio Abbate, elect the following officers: the Prior, the receiver of the military tax, the Secretary, and the members of the Council, the valuers, experts, and assayers, all of them master goldsmiths, as well as the Reverend, the Chaplain, and all other officers, clerks, and the bedels. These hold office for life, subject to annual reconfirmation. The government offices, to which the guild is subordinate, are the Giustiziere Vecchi, the Provveditori alle Artiglierie — to whom all the city guilds are also subject — the Massari all' Ori et Argenti in Cecca (the bullion officers in the mint), the Officiali alla Bolla degl' Orefici (or hall-mark officials), and the Provveditori in Cecca (or Masters of the Mint)." The revenues of the guild consisted of the entrance fee and other dues (*luminarie*) exacted from the members, besides the sum of one thousand five hundred ducats for the dowering of four daughters of master goldsmiths, and another legacy of one thousand ducats for the benefit of poor brothers. When asked to give his views as to the reasons for the decay of the guild and his proposals for its revival, the warden replied by pointing to competition, and suggested still further restrictions. "This confraternity flourished," he said, "as long as gold and silver smiths held the supremacy in Venice, to whom orders were committed not only by Venetians but also by foreigners. But when this craft became common and the secrets of the trade were diffused, not merely among the neighbouring States but even in remote foreign countries, orders fell off here, and little remained but purely local commissions, and even these were challenged by the few foreign artificers. There is another point: the decline in our craft is due in no small measure to the excessive number of apprentices and hands, and also to the goldsmiths' shops which are opened in remote parts of the city, and therefore escape

the inspection and the taxation which fall on the owners of shops in the goldsmiths' quarters at San Marco and Rialto. It would therefore be as well, before going any further into the question, to close the guild for twenty years, or whatever period your Excellencies may approve, that is to say, to forbid expressly the articling of any new apprentices for that period, and thus to prevent the choking of the craft by a number of persons who must inevitably remain unemployed and be cast upon the city. A much more valuable provision for the resuscitation of the craft would be the return to the ancient rule which required that all the goldsmiths and jewellers shall be concentrated at Rialto and San Marco, or on a line between those two points. Further, it is a common practice nowadays for hands who become masters to open shops without a penny of capital, which results in scandal to our profession and to the city; we are, therefore, of opinion that it would have a salutary effect if a law were passed providing that no one who was not the son of a master may open a shop without first depositing twenty-five ducats in the treasury of the guild. This would give the guild a revenue to be applied to current expenses for which it never has funds."[1]

To pass from the gentle art of the goldsmith to the ruder art of the boat-builder. The Gastaldo of the *squeraroli* answers the Inquisitore by stating that the craft was erected into a union in 1610; apprentices are admitted up to fourteen years of age, with six years' service as prentice and two as a hand[2]; of sixty master builders forty-five were employed in the yards, fifteen were unoccupied. After inquiring into the revenue, taxes, and expenditure of the union, the Inquisitore asked for

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Inquis. alle arti*, B[a] 1, fol. 249.

[2] The examination for a master's certificate was to draw out designs for building a ship's hull, if the candidate aspired to *fabbricar di grosso* or to make a gondola if he wished *lavorar di sottilo*.

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suggestions *per dar maggior alimento all' arte stessa*. The Gastaldo replied that the government could itself assist the trade by giving orders that when the State forests were cut the master shipwrights might choose the timber best suited to their purpose. There was also a serious obstacle to the full development of the trade, and that was the monopoly enjoyed by the venders of pitch, who sold the raw material at exorbitant prices. Finally, said the Gastaldo, it would be of immense service to the craft if they were free to work, not only in the yards but also from rafts on the open waters, without being prevented by the Calkers' Union among the arsenal hands.[1]

The inquiry into the other arts and crafts continues with question and answer all pitched in a tone of depressing monotony. Some of them are starved to death through lack of orders, failure of demand, shrinkage in profits[2]; others see themselves threatened by freedom of competition[3]; others, again, demand a reduction in the taxes *per sollevar l'economia sbilanciata e vacillante*[4]; or a diminution of the interest due on capital borrowed[5]; others appeal to the government to reform abuses, violation of privilege and frauds.[6]

The whole grave question of commercial decline was discussed in the Senate on May 29, 1784, and Andrea Tron, Inquisitore alle Arti, made a notable speech in which, while praising the efforts of the government to encourage trade, he did not hesitate to demonstrate that if the rich would not abandon their

[1] Arch. di Stato, *Inquis. alle arti*, B[a] 1, fol. 303 et seq. The *Squeraroli* were permitted to work only on vessels hauled on shore, whereas the arsenal calkers repaired and cleaned vessels afloat.

[2] Ibid., *Arte dei Peltreri e Stagneri*, B[a] 1, fol. 4.

[3] Ibid., *Arte dei Prestineri*, fol. 16. *Masteleri*, fol. 51. *Sartori*, fol. 291. *Tintori*, fol. 349.

[4] Ibid., *Arte dei Frittoleri*, fol. 86. *Bossoleri* and *Tornadori*, fol. 126.

[5] Ibid., *Arte de' Tesseri da tela*, fol. 36.

[6] Ibid., *Arte dei Tagliapietra*, fol. 64.

luxury and effeminacy of living and devote themselves to commerce, industry, and navigation, there was but little hope for the country.[1] It was vain, however, to seek for strong wills and vigorous action in a society which was steadily on the decline.

[1] Romanin, IX, 80 et seq.

THE CORTE A SA. CATERINA

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CHAPTER III

THE OLD TOWN AND MODERN ART — ART AND LIFE

TOWARD the close of the seventeenth century William Shakespeare, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, puts into the mouth of Holophernes the old Venetian proverb

> Venetia, Venetia
> Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia.[1]

And in truth, if Venice of the early Seicento displayed that maturity of charm which presaged an approaching decline, her vital essence, wrought into a vigorous mould during the preceding centuries, now spread beyond her own borders in a species of autumnal glory flooded with colour and life. From lute to lute passed the hymn of praise in honour of the Adriatic's Queen, *Adriatici maris regina, prudentiae sedes, miraculum orbis*.[2] "Contente toy donc ma memoire,"

[1] Act IV, scene ii. The proverb is to be found in the *Dieci tavole dei proverbi* (1535). See Pasqualigo, *Raccolta di proverbi Veneti*, p. 256. Treviso, 1882. It is thought that Shakespeare took the proverb from the *Second Fruites* of Giovanni Florio, the well-known populariser of Italian literature in England. Shakespeare may have heard the proverb from Florio's own lips, but can hardly have taken it from *Second Fruites*, which was published in 1591, whereas *Love's Labour's Lost* belongs to 1589–1590. Einstein (*The Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 371. New York, 1902) says: "The lines *Venetia*, etc., if not taken from Florio's *Second Fruites*, which he [Shakespeare] might well have seen in manuscript, could be found in James Sanford's collection of Italian proverbs. Shakespeare, however, undoubtedly knew Florio when he was a protégé of Southampton." Einstein quotes S. Lee, *William Shakespeare*, p. 85. London, 1899.

[2] Lomenii, Lud., *Itinerarium* curante Carolo Patin, p. 65. Parisiis, 1662. For the poetry relating to the history of Venice, see Medin, *St. della Rep. di Ven. nella poesia*. For the poetry relating to Venice in general, see the bibliographies of Cicogna and Soranzo.

says the Duc de Rohan, "de te ressouvenir qu'ayant veu Venise tu a veu un des cabinets de merveilles du monde; duquel je suis party aussi ravi et content tout ensemble de l'avoir veue, que triste d'y avoir demeuré si peu, meritant non 3 ou 4 semaines, mais un siècle, pour la considerer à l'égal de ce qu'elle merite."[1] A German traveller praises the dignity of the government, the beauty of the women, the courteous hospitality of the inhabitants[2]; and an English priest, Richard Lassels, who travelled in Italy in 1661–1663, declares that *Venetia la ricca* was one of the most beautiful cities of Europe.[3] The traveller Spon, of Lyons, journeying in 1675 with an Englishman who shares his enthusiasm, declares that "quand on auroit couru toute la terre, on ne pourroit dire d'avoir vu aucune ville qui lui ressemble."[4] Don Diego de Zunica, with Spanish emphasis, exclaims: "Venezia, Elena delle cittadi di Europa, Regina dell' Adriatico, Amfiteatro di prodiggi, argomento specioso di tutte le lingue, gloria della natura e superbia dell' arte, è più atta a lodarsi con un silenzio attonito, che con una lingua encomiaste."[5]

Venice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in its general outlines, was not unlike the Venice of to-day. Seen from the top of the Campanile of San Marco, she lay spread out in delicate white upon the bosom of the lagoon, girt by her garland of fair islands, with the shadowy Alps in the far distance and, beyond the Lido, the Adriatic dancing in sunlight. The city, which is in the shape of a heart with its point towards the east, seen from that height presented a forest of roofs, chimneys, and campaniles, a labyrinth of squares,

[1] *Voyage du Duc de Rohan faict en 1600*, p. 33. Amsterdam, 1646.
[2] Zeillerus, Martinus, *Itinerarium Italiae*, p. 59. Franckfurt, 1640.
[3] Lassels, *Voy. d'Italie*, II, 250. Paris, 1682.
[4] Spon and Wheler, *Voy. d'Ital. de Dalmatie*, etc. (1675–1676), I, 43. La Haye, 1724.
[5] Zunica, Diego, *La Calamita d'Europa*. Bologna, 1694.

THE BASIN OF S. MARCO

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streets, and bridges, and through the midst ran the sinuous line of the Grand Canal, three thousand metres long and, on an average, seventy metres wide.

Towards the sea five ports, or openings, gave access to the tranquil waters of the lagoon. Entering by the Chioggia port, to the left lay Chioggia itself, to the right Pelestrina, and San Pietro in Volta stretched along the shore as far as the port of Malamocco, and further on still, came the three remaining ports of Lido, Sant' Erasmo, and Treporti.[1] To the south of Venice lay the islands of Malamocco; Poveglia; Santo Spirito, with its church by Sansovino; San Lazzaro of the Armenians; Sant' Elena of the Olivetan friars, with its beautiful Gothic church, once filled with treasures of art; the Certosa, with the great castle of Sant' Andrea; the island of Santa Maria della Grazia, with the church and convent of the Franciscan sisters; San Clemente; and San Servili, then an asylum for mad patricians. Once in the basin of San Marco, on whose waters lay the old-fashioned galleys and the new type of ship with the high poop, while light and graceful gondolas and boats of every build and form sped over the lagoon, — on the one side you had the island of San Giorgio with its gleaming façade of white Istrian stone, built by Palladio, on the other the whole sweep of the southern part of the city, from the extreme point, the *paludo* of Sant' Antonio di Castello, along the Riva degli Schiavoni, to the Dogana and the first palaces of the Grand Canal. High above the churches, the marble buildings, the humbler houses with their broken and fantastic outlines defined against a vast and luminous sky, shot cupolas and campaniles,

[1] Treporti and Sant' Erasmo were navigable only by boats of shallow draught. The port of Sant' Erasmo was closed in 1349 in order to deepen the neighbouring channel of the Lido; but the result being unsatisfactory, it was reopened in 1360 (Zendrini, *Mem. storiche delle lagune di Ven.*, I, 48. Padova, 1811). In 1474 and in 1676 there was talk of closing it again; but nothing was done then or since.

majestic among them all the bell tower of San Marco, like the mainmast of some huge ship setting out to sea to reach the furthest East and achieve for herself riches, power, and glory.

In the northern lagoon lay the islands of San Francesco del Deserto, Burano, Torcello, Mazzorbo, Murano, San Michele, San Cristoforo della Pace, and Venice herself, with the long line of the *Fondamente Nuove*, built in 1590,[1] where stood the boat-builders' yards, warehouses, old and tumbled-down dwellings, — a whole quarter of the poor, picturesque in its unique appearance, but grave and melancholy, and in striking contrast with the brilliant spectacle offered by the basin of San Marco.

The lines of river communication which connected the mainland with Venice were numerous and underwent various modifications by the diversion of streams, the alteration of their courses, and the construction of canals. The great German route — the *Alemagna*, as it was called — started from Pordenone and followed the course of the Livenza, or from Portogruaro by the Lemene down to Caorle and the lagoon, thence by the canal Liomazor to Murano and Mazzorbo, where the custom house stood. From Treviso trade passed down the Sile and by the Fossetta to Torcello, Mazzorbo, and Murano into the city at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where was the traghetto station. From Mestre you arrived by Marghera and San Giuliano, and thence along the canal of San Secondo to the Cannaregio. The so-called Lombardy route, tapping the Veronese, the Polesine, and part of the Padovano, made use of the Po, the Adige, the Bacchiglione, and the Brenta, and passing through Chioggia landed on the Riva degli Schiavoni. Lastly, from Padua one could come down the Brenta, by Strà, Dolo, Mira, Oriago, to Lizza Fusina, where, owing to the differing levels of the river and the lagoon,

[1] Zendrini, op. cit., I, 328.

THE Custom House (1676-1682), and the Chiesa della Salute (1631-1687) at the Entrance of the Grand Canal

was the famous *carro* for hoisting boats from one to the other; this route entered Venice by the Giudecca. The *carro* was abandoned when locks, called *porte*, *sostegni*, *chiuse*, or *cateratte*, came into use.[1] Viewed from whatever side, the city appears as a marvel of nature and of art. Nor is the impression decreased if one penetrates its streets. The history of its art is intimately connected with the story of its growth, and every stone recalls the glory of the past. "This city, which fascinates and amazes me at one and the same time," so writes an Englishman at the middle of the Settecento, "is one of the largest and certainly the most extraordinary in the whole world."[2]

But the beauty of Venice must not be sought solely at San Marco, along the Grand Canal, and at the more famous points of the city; its more mysterious, less frequented recesses have their charm. There is not a nook of the place where art has not scattered her treasures and in which we do not find the wedded charm of artistic riches and picturesque decay.

[1] Coronelli (*Viaggi*, I, 84. Venezia, 1697) says that during the period when the Brenta did not enter the lagoon, the boats used to be hoisted from one to the other by an ingenious piece of mechanism. This machine was the property of the Pesaro family. The *carro* at Fusina is recorded by Marin Sanudo in his *Itinerario in Terraferma* (published by Rawdon Brown, Padova, 1847) and by Montaigne in his *Voyage* of 1580. The cars, or *lizze*, used for transporting the boats from the fresh water to the salt, or *vice versa*, over the embankment that separated them, must have been quite simple constructions if we are to trust the drawing by Coronelli (*Viaggi*, plate at page 80). The *lizze* were composed of two inclined planes sloping the one towards the lagoon, the other towards the river. The floor of these inclined planes was of stone, with cross-beams of wood. A stout framework of wood was slipped under the boat, and both it and the boat were hauled up one plane and let down the other. The *lizza*, or frame, with the boat on it, was hauled up by means of a cogged wheel and a windlass which was turned by a horse. A lock took the place of the *carro* about the beginning of the seventeenth century. This lock was opened at Moranza about 1609. The *carro* at Marghera was abolished in 1615, when the river Margenego was deviated, the waters of the Brentella regulated, and the Cava Gradeniga, or canal in direct communication with the lagoon, opened for traffic.

[2] [Malhows] *Voy. en France, en Italie et aux isles de l'Archipel*, trans., II, 171. Paris, 1763.

At this period the city was divided, as always, into the six quarters of San Marco, Castello, Cannaregio, Santa Croce, San Polo, and Dorsoduro; these together contained seventy parishes and as many parish churches, and still preserved the simple imprint of their ancient habits and uses which the heedless handling of the moderns is gradually sweeping away. The waters which surround the city prevent it from expanding and losing its singular character, and so the houses piled and grouped themselves within the narrow circuit. The wretched tenements and dark alleys, the courts and *campielli* with crumbling walls, the narrow canals, all served as a foil to the palaces of the great or the sumptuous façades of the churches. "Peu de rues suivies: la Ville est un vaste labyrinthe; il faut un long usage pour en avoir le fil," writes the Abbé Coyer about 1763,[1] and a few years later Goethe remarked that the narrowness and crookedness of the streets are incredible to any one who has not seen them.[2] Even the very names of these alleys, so singular in their sound and in their meaning, which to-day are slowly disappearing, awoke in the minds of the people memories of the past. The names, for the most part in dialect, usually referred to the patron saint of the quarter, or to some public building, or to some family, or to the stranger folk settled in the quarter, or to some trade or industry.[3]

[1] *Voyages d'Italie et de Hollande*, par M. l'abbé Coyer, II, 17. Paris, 1775.

[2] Goethe, *Werke* (Italiänische Reise), XIX, 60 et seq. Stuttgart, 1868.

[3] The names of saints appear in their dialectic form: for example, *Sant' Aponal* (Sant' Apollinare); *San Stae* (Sant' Eustachio), *San Marcilian* (San Marziale). The names of two saints united in one word gave rise to strange dialectic forms: for example, *San Trovaso* (Santi Gervasio e Protasio); *San Zanipolo* (Santi Giovanni e Paolo); *San Marcuola* (Santi Ermagora e Fortunato). We find other dialectic street names, like the *Calle dell' Aseo*(aceto), *Sottoportico del Barbier*, *Corte del Caffetier*. Foreigners (Bergamaschi, Friulani, Albanesi, Armeni, Schiavoni) and patrician families (Albrizzi, Badoer, Contarini, Morosini, Mocenigo, Pisani, and so on), middle-class families (Businello, Cappellis, Dogolin) and families of the

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The natural characteristics of the city were not all spoiled, nor even materially altered, by the appearance of *barocco* art. This style first manifested itself towards the close of the Cinquecento, when the national temper began to grow flaccid and demanded a tonic in strong emotions. This peculiar mood of the mind — a mood which in art as in life prefers the complex to the simple, style to veracity, and seeks the beautiful in the novel and the novel in the bizarre — reached its full development in the Seicento; but it is impossible to mark the confines between one artistic movement and another by the rigid division of the centuries. Art and manners alike change gradually, and we cannot look for salient differences between the artists of the close of one century and those who flourish in the early years of the next.

Venetian architecture, which displays a stately elegance in Sansovino's Library (1536), is modified and becomes artificial in Scamozzi's continuation of the Procuratie Nuove (1582), though it was still learnedly correct in Palladio's façade of the Redentore (1577). The pompous ecclesiastical architecture which came into vogue after the Council of Trent had completed the counter-reformation (1563), found a vigorous antidote in Palladio's sober, serious, and weighty style.[1]

people (Capuzzi, Corbetto, Gaffaro, Pometti), bestowed their names on many streets. The palaces of ambassadors and foreign envoys gave the name to the neighbouring street: for example, *Calle dell' Ambasciatore* at San Barnaba, where the Imperial Envoy began to take up his abode in 1754 in the handsome Gothic palace known as the Palazzo degli Ambasciadori. At San Francesco della Vigna there is a *Campo delle Gatte*, probably a corruption of the word *legati*, or papal nuncios. *Lista* was the proper name for the street in front of an embassy, as, for example, the *Lista di Spagna* at San Geremia, where the Spanish ambassador lived. There are other strange topographical names, such as the *Ponte delle Tette* at San Cassiano, so called from the fact that the loose women of the quarter used to expose their breasts; the *Calle degli Assassini* at San Benedetto, which received its name from the frequent murders which took place there; the *Ponte dei squartai*, at the Tolentini, so called because the limbs of malefactors were there exposed.

[1] Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, p. 283. Stuttgart, 1887.

Even when *barocco* had triumphed and had introduced bizarre and extravagant elements into life and art, Venetian architecture, especially in ecclesiastical buildings, preserved a character all its own and quite different from the style developed at Rome, which had become the focus of all artistic life in Italy. In spite of the efforts of *barocco* to create — even in Venice — novel, daring, and pompous forms, the new style did not succeed in changing the essential characteristics of the old city, and merely added a pleasing note of variety to its original beauty. Side by side with the masterpieces of the Bons, the Bregnos, Rizzo, and the Lombardi, the *barocco* style — so clearly displayed in the clock tower of the courtyard at the Ducal Palace, completed in 1615 by Bartolomeo Monopola and loaded with friezes and statuary (some of it antique) — is far from displeasing. Even that heavy and awkward marble bridge which joins the Ducal Palace to the prisons, — known as the Bridge of Sighs because it served as passage for prisoners, — is not entirely out of keeping with the severer buildings which flank the dark, mysterious canal. The bridge is probably the work of Antonio Contino, who, on the death of Da Ponte in 1597, carried to a conclusion the building of the prisons.

The aim of the new style was to give life and movement to stone, and Venice herself by her very nature seemed to offer the aid of her sky, her sea, and the brilliancy of her setting. Certain monuments of this style are loaded with fantastic conceptions, as though the artist were endeavouring to reproduce a scene on the stage. Horizontal lines are broken and bent, columns are contorted, the mouldings are whimsically curved; ungraceful architraves and ponderous attics are combined with awkward volutes and pinnacles loaded with excessive and confused ornamentation; and yet the triumphal grandeur of the whole compels admiration, and we forget the violation of rules and the debasement

CHURCH of S. Moisè, built by Alessandro Tremignon in 1688

Photo by Alinari

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of the ancient orders. For example, the church of the Salute, overloaded as it is in design, with its capitals, cornices, statues, festoons, nevertheless displays a vigorous harmony which dominates this exuberance of ornamentation; in its colossal majesty it commands the entrance to the Grand Canal and admirably completes the prospect; it would be impossible for us now to imagine the superb view deprived of that proud, grave, and solitary monument, its cupola swelling up into the circumambient atmosphere, its balustrade and vast volutes gleaming across the waters in all the purity of their marmoreal whiteness. The church was begun in 1631, and dedicated in 1687,[1] as a thank-offering to the Virgin for liberation from plague; it cost about half a million of ducats. Martinioni, in his notes to Sansovino's *Venetia*, declares that 1,156,627 piles of oak, larch, and other woods were employed in the foundations. Baldassare Longhena designed the plan from the section of a temple engraved in the *Hypnerotomachia* of Polifilo, who thus describes it in his wonted style: "Un sacro tempio per architettonica arte rotundo constructo, et dentro della quadrangolare figura nella aequata area solertemente exacto." Hard by the church is the Dogana, jutting into the Grand Canal at an obtuse angle. It has three loggias, with coupled columns and a terrace above; on the summit is a square block or attic, which serves as a tower, surmounted by two Atlases, kneeling and bearing on their shoulders a globe of gilded copper from which springs a bronze figure of Fortune that turns on a pivot as the wind shifts. The building was designed by Giuseppe Benoni of Trent (1676–1682), master builder to the Water Commissioners; it follows the style of Longhena, but is neither correct nor sober, though it possesses a certain grace of its own and a phantasy well suited to its position.

[1] Spon (*Voy.*, cit., I, 76) writes in 1675: "[L'église] de la Salute est la plus superbe pour l'architecture, quoy qu'elle ne soit pas encore tout-à-fait finie."

The spirit of this century of splendour in Venice found its most significant expression in architecture; the pride of the sovereign order, which desired to surround itself with pomp in all departments of life, reveals itself most clearly in those magnificent palaces built for the Rezzonico by Longhena (1680), and finished, in its third order, by Giorgio Massari (1745); for the Pesaros (1679), and the Widmanns, also by Longhena; for the Diedo at Santa Fosca; and for the Priuli in Cannaregio, the work of Tirali. The most splendid is the Palazzo Pesaro, which rises from the Grand Canal upon massive blocks of stone carved into heads of monsters, and loaded with decoration which, however, does not destroy the stately rhythm of the design. But in Longhena and his followers the love of the bizarre bursts out occasionally with a kind of morbid vehemence. Longhena is, beyond doubt, one of the great masters of his day; in some of his work he unites the learning of San Michele in the elevation, the harmony of Palladio in the proportions, the phantasy of Scamozzi in the decorative effects.[1] The artist who reached so high a point of decorative skill in the Salute, such perfect grace in the staircase of San Giorgio Maggiore, who could submit his genius to the cold and even pedantic rules of formal architecture in the Palazzo Giustinian-Lolin on the Grand Canal, has recourse, on occasion, to the most outrageous extravagances, as on the façade of the Ospedaletto, and the Pesaro monument at the Frari, where it would seem as though he were endeavouring to impose upon marble the metaphors and hyperboles with which the literature of his day was replete. Giuseppe Sardi, who was born near Lugano in 1630 and died in Venice in 1699, rivalled Longhena in his extravagances rather than in the power of his imagination. On the commission of the Barbaro family, he

[1] Gurlitt, op. cit., p. 317.

THE Palazzo Pesaro on the Grand Canal,
built by Longhena in 1679

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designed the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio (1683); the façade is loaded with figures in enormous periwigs, and on the pedestals are plans of Rome, Candia, Padua, Corfù, Spalato, and Pavia. Sardi is less faulty and bizarre in the Scuola di San Teodoro (1661), and the façades of San Salvatore (1663), San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti (1673), and degli Scalzi (1689). The façade of San Moisè by Alessandro Tremignon (1688) is also loaded with strange and extravagant ornamentation, though it does not lack a certain picturesqueness; and the same may be said of Sant' Eustachio by Domenico Rossi (1709), and of the Gesuiti by Giambattista Fattoretto (1715).

Sculpture lent but little aid, and that not beautiful, to the architectural audacities of the day. The movement begun in the Seicento reached its culmination when the sense of harmonious grandeur gradually declined, and ended in bombastic ideas and forms; and the search for realistic presentment was replaced by the false and the ugly. Alessandro Vittoria, who modelled portrait busts with such marvellous veracity that they seem to be taken from the living mask, was actually contemporary with the unknown sculptor of the colossal grotesque which forms the keystone to the door of the campanile of Santa Maria Formosa. It represents a huge head, monstrous and ignoble, with its sardonic and obscene leer; rightly did Ruskin declare that human fancy could fall no lower.[1] The

[1] This monstrous head, which Ruskin held to express the base spirit which deforms the later works of Venetian architecture, has found a defender in the illustrious scientist Charcot, who recognises in it study of obscure problems, and curiosity of observation. The distortion of the features, which render the mask at once disgusting and grotesque, is not a mere result of artistic caprice. The artist had seen with his own eyes the model he chose and fixed its lineaments. They display all the salient characteristics of a special nervous affection, so clearly marked that it is impossible to mistake them. We do not know if a similar intention inspired the sculptor of the mask on the door of the Campanile of San Bartolomeo.

formless extravagances of the chisel found free play in Venice of the seventeenth century, chiefly due to the work of three foreigners, Giusto Le Curt, Alberto de Brule, Flemings, and Melchior Berthel, a Saxon, imitators of Bernini, whom they did not understand. Gian Lorenzo Bernini had warm admirers in Venice, and Cardinal Federico Cornaro, in 1644, commissioned him to decorate the chapel of Santa Maria della Vittoria, where we have the marvellous group of Santa Teresa in ecstasy.[1] Bernini was also invited to Venice to assist in decorating the Salute, but could not accept. Some of his work, however, is to be found in the city, —the monument to Cardinal Giovanni Delfino in San Michele in Isola, finished in 1623, and the bust of Cardinal Agostino Valier, finished in 1636 and now in the Patriarchal Seminary.[2] The extravagant monument to the Conte d'Argenson (d. 1651), at San Giobbe, the work of the Parisian Claude Perreau, shows the length to which mediocre imitators of the great master could be carried; and we have another example in the funeral urn of the patriarch Morosini, in the Tolentini, wrought in stucco and carving by the Genoese Filippo Parodi about 1690. Similar in style are the sculptures of the high altar of San Pietro di Castello, the work of Clemente Moli, a Bolognese, executed to adorn Longhena's altar (1669); the figures of the Pesaro monument by Melchior Berthel (1669); Giusto Le Curt's monument to Giorgio and Pietro Morosini (1676–1682) in San Clemente in Isola; Pietro Baratta, Antonio Tarsia, and Giovanni Bonazza in the Valier monument (1708) at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, designed by Tirali; Fra Antonio Pittoni in the sacristy (1711) and cloister (1714) of the Frari. Of these Giovanni

[1] Fraschetti, *Il Bernini*, p. 176. Milan, 1900.

[2] Ibid., p. 406. The other bust of Cardinal Pietro, in Bernini's style, does not reveal the master's hand.

GROTESQUE over the door of the Campanile
di Sa. Maria Formosa

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Bonazza was slightly the best. In his old age and with the help of his three sons he produced the creditable reliefs for the Rosario Chapel at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in 1732. Other sculptors, hardly worth naming here, are responsible for the statues of angels and epileptic saints, whose contorted and tormented forms, wrapped in wind-blown drapery, writhe on the tympanums and on the barocco façades of Sant' Eustachio, of the Gesuiti, the Scalzi, and Santa Maria del Giglio. Carving in wood was less debased, and can boast the work of two strong artists, Francesco Pianta, a Venetian, and Andrea Brustolon of Belluno.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw a reaction in architecture, due to the writings and the propaganda of the Venetian, Fra Carlo Lodoli (1690–1771), who desired to restore to fame the names of Vitruvius and Palladio. Tirali had already shown himself a ready disciple of Palladio in the elevations of his churches, San Vitale and San Niccolò da Tolentino. But this revival soon degenerated into a cold and tedious classicism, which lacked all sense of the grand or the picturesque, — qualities which still characterised the barocco style and made themselves felt in the Palazzo Corner della Regina (1724) designed by Domenico Rossi, the Palazzo Labia (1720–1750) by Andrea Cominelli, the Palazzo Zenobio (opening years of the Settecento) by Antonio Gaspari, the Palazzo Pisani at Santo Stefano, begun in the sixteenth century, but only finished two centuries later by the Paduan, Girolamo Frigimelica. In opposition to this licentious art, which, however, was not lacking in dignity, there arose a cold academic school of builders: Giovanni Scalfurotto (d. 1764), who produced the church of San Simeone Piccolo, a wretched imitation of the Pantheon; Matteo Lucchesi (1705–1776), who built San Giovanni Nuovo; Maccarucci (1750 cir.–1798), to whom we owe the church of San Rocco; Giorgio Massari (fl. 1753), author of

the Pietà, the Gesuati, and the Palazzo Grossi; Tomaso Temanza (1705–1789), a good writer on art, who built the church of the Maddalena, and Giannantonio Selva (1753–1819), the creator of the Fenice theatre.

In like manner sculpture began to weary of barocco intemperance, and tentatively sought a new way, led by Antonio Gai (1686–1766 cir.), Giammaria Morlaiter (1699–1781), and his son Gregorio (1733–1784), who left various works in the churches of the Gesuiti, San Rocco, and the Pietà; Giovanni Marchiori of Agordo, author of the graceful Sibyls in the presbytery of the Scalzi; Toretti and Tagliapietra; until it reached Antonio Canova, who drew his inspiration from the Greeks and restored to classic purity the art of sculpture.

The progress of painting, which during a certain period may be considered as the typical Venetian art, — reproducing, as it did, in vivid colours the light-hearted life of the city, — was hardly less varied than that of sculpture. With Jacopo Tintoretto (d. 1594), the last of the contemplative painters, the art reached that point beyond which it could not go without violation of its fundamental laws. Tintoretto's followers imitated only his carelessness and his rapidity, which in his case was due to the lightning-like speed of his imagination, but became in their hands a mere cold, mechanical trick. The chief of his imitators was his son Domenico (1562–1635), who painted much in the Ducal Palace, the homes of the nobility, and the churches. Hasty drawing and careless colouring, crowded composition, exaggerated movement, — all the defects, in short, which down to the close of the Cinquecento marred the Venetian school in but a slight degree, produced the excesses and the license which characterise the *manieristi* of the Seicento. The leader of this school was Jacopo Palma the younger (1544–1628); he began with a marked severity of manner, but as the years went by he

CHURCH of S. Simeone Piccolo, built by
G. Scalfurotto (XVIII century)

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degenerated into the prevailing rapidity of brush. Among his many achievements the most impressive is his "Last Judgment" in the Sala dello Scrutinio in the Ducal Palace; his most pleasing, the pictures in the oratory of the Crociferi. Among Palma's peers we must name Fra Cosimo Piazza (1557–1621), Leonardo Corona (1561–1605), Girolamo Gambarato (d. 1628), Sante Peranda (1566–1638), Matteo Ingoli, of Ravenna (1587–1631), Pietro Damini (1592–1630), Girolamo Pilotto (fl. 1590), Giovanni Carboncino (fl. 1680), Tomaso Dolobella, the Fleming Pietro Mera (fl. 1603), all of them more or less insignificant and affected painters, whose art is purely mechanical. Alessandro Varotari, called Padovanino from his native city (1590–1650), still retained, though in a feebler degree, some of Titian's great manner. He painted the ceiling of Sansovino's Library, and in the churches of the Salute, the Carmini, San Pietro di Castello, San Giacomo dall' Orio, he has left pictures which still recall the grand style of the preceding century, though he never again reached the excellence he displayed in his "Marriage of Cana," executed for the Paduan monastery of San Giovanni di Verdara.

Painting declined in the emotional qualities, while developing pomposity. The artist devoted his whole attention to effect; colour is no longer an essential element in the presentation, but is applied as a superficial adjunct, or else follows the new school of the *tenebrosi* with their black and greasy impasto, — a style introduced into Venice about the middle of the seventeenth century by admirers and imitators of Caravaggio, like the Genoese Bernardo Strozzi and Agostino Cassana, Pietro Ricchi of Lucca, and the Milanese Federico Cervelli. Nevertheless, in spite of conventionality, violation of laws, and patent defectiveness, painting, like sculpture, still retained a remarkable sense for decoration.

In the Doge's dwelling, side by side with masterpieces of the Renaissance, we find the overcrowded and confused canvases of Andrea Michieli, called Vicentino (1539-1614), of Giovanni Contarini (1549-1606), of Antonio Vassilacchi, called the Aliense (1556-1629), of Pietro Malombra (1556-1618), of Pietro Liberi (1605-1687), of Andrea Celesti (1637-1706). In the Basilica of San Marco, whose grave religious atmosphere had already been disturbed by the joyous creations of Titian, Paolo, and Tintoretto, a crowd of figures more light-hearted still, assume irreverent poses side by side with the austere lions of Byzantine workmanship, in the mosaics executed from cartoons by Palma Giovane, Girolamo Pilotto (fl. 1590), Maffeo Verona (1576-1618), Pietro Muttoni, called Vecchia (1605-1678), Giannantonio Fumiani (1643-1710), and Bastiano Ricci (1660-1743). In the Scuola di San Rocco, peopled by Tintoretto's creations, which seem like a giant's offspring, the figures in two pictures representing the plague of 1630, painted by Antonio Zanchi (1639-1722), author of the ceiling of the Scuola di San Girolamo, and by Pietro Negri (b. 1679), are contorted and twisted in a repellent mass. The immense ceiling of San Pantaleone, on which is painted the apotheosis of the saint, in spite of its obvious defects and confusion, proves that the artist, Giannantonio Fumiani, possessed a fertile imagination and a large and facile manner. On the other hand, the "Adoration of the Magi," in San Giovanni Elemosinario, painted by Carlo Ridolfi (1594-1658), of Lonigo, the historian of the arts, displays great poverty of invention. Little now remains of the pictures painted for the palaces of patricians by artists who lived during the seventeenth century and the opening years of the next. A few canvases displaying the sensuous fancy of Liberi, who, as Ridolfi declares, *trasportò sulle tele la vera carne*, are still to be found, though half forgotten, enclosed in florid cornices of

DETAIL of the Ceiling of the Church of S. Pantaleone,
by G. A. Fumiani (XVII century)

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stucco upon ceilings or walls; portraits by Tiberio Tinelli (1586–1638), Niccolò Bambini (1651–1736), Girolamo Forabosco (fl. 1660), may still be met with here and there in galleries. The large canvas by Andrea Vicentino, representing the Coronation of the Dogaressa Morosini-Grimani, which once adorned the Palazzo Grimani at San Luca, is now in the Museo Civico.[1]

During the whole of the Seicento mannerism assumed various and frequently contradictory forms, and continued to dominate the next century. At the close of the seventeenth century, however, we meet with the work of Gregorio Lazzarini (1654 cir.–1740), which is both more sober in composition and more correct in form, though the colouring still lacks vigour. His most notable painting is the *Carità di San Lorenzo Giustiniani* at San Pietro di Castello. We may also mention Bastiano Ricci of Belluno, whose work displays vivacity of colour and composition, and Antonio Balestra (1666–1734), remarkable for his draftsmanship and the facility of his brush. He opened a school at Venice and sent out such pupils as Pietro Longhi and Rosalba Carriera. The more distinguished artists of this century, men who were frequently called on to decorate public and private buildings, are Antonio Bellucci (1654–1726), Girolamo Brusaferro (1700–1760), Angelo Trevisani (fl. 1753), Giuseppe Camerata (1668–1762), Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741), Jacopo Amigoni (1675–1752), Francesco Polazzo (1683–1753),

[1] Martinioni, in the *Venetia* of Sansovino, gives a list *de gli pittori di nome che al presente (1663) vivono a Venezia*, including some foreign names: "Abramo Remondon francese che disegna molto bene col lapis in carta e dipigne"; Gian Carlo Loth, of Munich, a painter of renown, "che ha fatto a Gio. Battista Cornaro Piscopia Proc. di S. Marco cose di marauiglia," lived for long in Venice and died there in 1698; "Filippo Lemp tedesco, nel rappresentar battaglie singolare"; Chevalier Gioseffo Enzo (Enss) of Augsburg; Giuseppe Calimberg, a German who died about 1670; "Jacopo Fichtor olandese, mirabile nel formar animali volanti, Monsù Cuffin francese che vale particolarmente ne' paesi."

Battista Pittoni (1687–1767), pupil of his uncle Francesco, the Bellunese Gaspare Diziani (1690–1767), the Bergamasque Giuseppe Nazari (1699–1763), Sante Piatti (b. 1700 cir.), Giambattisa Mariotti (1700 cir.–1765 cir.), Giuseppe Angeli (b. 1700 cir.), Fabio Canal (1703–1767), Francesco Fontebasso (1709–1769), Giacomo Guarana (1720–1807), Domenico Maggiotto (1720–1794) and his son Francesco (1750–1805), Antonio Zucchi (1726–1806), Francesco Zugno (fl. 1762), Pierantonio Novelli (1729–1804), the Veronese Gian Bettino Cignarolli (1706–1770), who executed his last work, "The Death of Rachel," for the Scuola della Carità. Giambattista Piazzetta surpassed all others in vigour and imaginative power, though he is sometimes heavy in colour.

Side by side with this school of painters who sought grandiosity of apparent effects, there arose another more graceful and more refined. The tragedy of Golgotha had furnished too many an inspiration, too many Virgins had wept at the foot of the Cross. Mythology, too, seemed to have exhausted its founts of beauty; too many Venuses had smiled seductively from the clouds, too many nymphs had displayed the charms of their rosy nakedness. Now, as if in opposition, there sprang to life an art adorned with all the elegance and gallantry of that joyous century; and Pietro Longhi, Rosalba Carriera, Antonio Canal (called Canaletto), and Francesco Guardi portray for us the graces of their age. Longhi shows us the subtle refinements of domestic life; Rosalba has left us portraits of patrician ladies, in pastels that outvie the brush in the delicacy of their tints on flowers and silk and the smoothness of velvety flesh. The suavity of female beauty is unsurpassed on Rosalba's canvases; no truer mirror of the amiable and indolent life of the Settecento can be found than in the scenes by Longhi; while Venice the city has never had a more veracious and convincing portraiture

La Carità di San Lorenzo Giustiniani, by Gregorio Lazzarini (XVIII century). *Photo by Alinari*
(Venice, Church of S. Pietro di Castello)

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than through the brush of Canaletto and of Guardi. That visible poetry which transpires from the stones and the waters of Venice — a poetry that was caught by some of the Quattrocentisti, but neglected by the masters of the Cinquecento, though their backgrounds are inspired by a profound sympathy with the spirit of places and things — came to life again on the canvases of the artists of the late Seicento, first with Luca Carlevaris (1665–1730) of Udine, and then, and with greater charm, in Canaletto and Guardi, who give us a living and veracious Venice in all its multiform aspects, in its contrasts and its harmonies of atmosphere. Both masters revel in the portrayal of their beloved city, — Canaletto, clear yet not crude, free yet never violent; Guardi, less severely conceived, but more smiling, more gay. We have other excellent artists in landscape and architecture, — Bernardo Bellotto, Giuseppe Zais, Jacopo Marieschi, Antonio Visentini, and Marco Ricci, nephew of Bastiano. Venetian art was thus being swayed between the emphatic and artificial manner and the school of refinement and elegance when her ancient splendour seemed to arise again with Tiepolo (1696–1770).

Giambattista Tiepolo, despising the minutiæ of finikin gracefulness and casting to the winds pedantic conventionalities, recalled the painter's art from the limbo of mannerism to the full light of day, to the everlasting truths of nature, and by his masterly command of chiaroscuro and a marvellous fertility and strength of imagination, gave us men and things as they are, re-evoking the glories of the Cinquecento and adding, by a happy touch of unconscious genius, the fine, soft, and delicate sentiment of the decadent age. The saints in glory; the divine Auroras painted on the ceilings of the Scalzi, the Gesuiti, the Pietà and the Scuola dei Carmini; the triumphal apotheoses and mythologies of the Palazzo Labia and the Palazzo Rezzonico — give us the measure of his genius, restless, tumultuous, yet

always clear and limpid. Tiepolo was no less powerful with burin than with brush, and his crowding fancies were transferred to metal with admirable vigour. His two sons, Giandomenico (1727–1804)—his father's most successful imitator—and Lorenzo (b. 1736), were also excellent engravers. These two centuries were rich in masters of the needle and the burin, from Carlo Ridolfi, Piazzetta, Diziani, Balestra, Amigoni, to Canaletto, the two Longhis, Guarana, and Visentini.[1] Other masters, either native Venetians or foreigners, cultivated the art of engraving, with the needle, the burin, the diamond, the hammer, in mezzotint or in colour; and in the Seicento we may mention Mattia Pizzato, Domenico Rossetti, Alessandro della Via, Piccini and his sister Isabella; and in the Settecento Giuseppe Wagner, the master of Bartolozzi, Teodoro Viero, Luigi Schiavonetti, Giuseppe Volpato, master of Raphael Morghen, Michele Marieschi, Pietro Monaco, Marco Pitteri, Pellegrino de Colle, Costantino Cumano, Francesco Novelli, Francesco Zucchi, Giuliano Giampiccoli, Giambattista Brustolon, Giovanni del Pian. Giambattista Piranesi was born at Venice in 1720, though he soon quitted his native country for Rome, where he achieved fame and riches, and called himself *figlio di Roma*, but preferred to sign himself *architetto Veneziano*.

The artistic revival took a vigorous bent during the last century of the Republic, and the bond between art and the life of the city was close. The very people,

[1] In the seventeenth century the works of Venetian masters were engraved in two great collections, one by the Fleming Valentino Le Febre (1682), who lived long in Venice and died there; he reproduced the masterpieces of Titian and Veronese. The other collection is by Carla Caterina Petina, a Frenchwoman, who engraved and published at Padua in 1691 several pictures chiefly of the Venetian school. In 1721 Domenico Lovisa published a collection which bore his name and is entitled *Il gran teatro delle Pitture e Prospettive di Venezia*. Giambattista Tiepolo and Silvestro Maniago were the draughtsmen, and Zucchi and Rossetti the engravers. Antonio Visentini also engraved several works by Canaletto, and in 1741 Michele Marieschi published a collection of views of Venice.

GLORIFICATION of the Virgin, by Tiepolo.
(Ceiling in the Scuola dei Carmini)

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enamoured of grace, magnificence, and pleasure, were affected by the movement. The whole parish of the Carmini was *en fête* for the unveiling of Tiepolo's ceiling in the Scuola, on June 2, 1743.[1] The judgment of the populace was even sought for by artists, who were wont to exhibit their works in the Merceria or at Rialto, in the squares and on the public streets.[2] It is true that the public taste was profoundly changed, especially in the seventeenth century, and the descendants of those who had delighted in the Library of Sansovino, and Tintoretto's "Miracle of San Marco," now admired Longhena's facade of the Ospedaletto and Liberi's "Battle of the Dardanelles." But this perversion of taste was universal, and prevailed longer among foreigners than among Venetians. For example, De Brosses, who visited Venice in 1739, disliked the Ducal Palace, *vilain monsieur, massif, sombre, et gothique du plus méchant goût;* nor did Saint Mark's please him, *sombre, impénétrable à la lumière, d'un goût misérable.*[3] The glorious art and singular character of Venice did not extract a single word of praise from Rousseau who was secretary to the French embassy in 1743.

But in Venice, even in the Seicento, in the midst of the flood of barocco which threatened to sweep all before

[1] Zanetti, Gir., *Mem. ined.* (*Arch. Veneto*, XXIX, 97).

[2] Vincenzo da Canal (*Vita di Greg. Lazzarini*, p. xxxii. Ven., 1809) says that Tiepolo "d'anni venti, in concorrenza d'altri pittori eseguì in tela *Faraone Sommerso*, opera applaudita il giorno di San Rocco, in cui venne esposta." In the *Notatorî Gradenigo* (Museo Civico, Cod. 67, Vol. IX, fol. 80) we find this passage: "25 aprile 1764 Fr. Guardi pittore della contrada dei SS. Apostoli su le Fondamente Nove, buon scolaro del rinomato Canaleto, essendo molto riuscito per via della camera ottica, di pingere sopra due non piccole tele, ordinate da un forestiere inglese, le vedute della Piazza S. Marco verso la chiesa e l'orologio, e del ponte di Rialto e sinistre fabbriche verso Cannaregio, oggi le rese esposte sui laterali delle Procurazie con universale applauso."

[3] De Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Ital. en 1739 et 1740*, Vol. I, letter XVI, Paris, Didier, 1885 (letter 17). De Brosses, when speaking of the pictures in the Palazzo Pisani at San Paolo, bestows equal praise on the "Family of Darius" by Veronese, now in the National Gallery in London, and on Liberi's "Lot's Daughters," now at Dresden.

it, we may still discover a limpid stream of purest taste. The early art found its votaries, and the works of the old masters and antique objects of *virtu* were sought for and collected with loving discrimination by patricians, prelates, bankers, and merchants.[1] The collections of Bertucci Contarini at San Samuele, of Antonio Cappello at the Pietà, of the Ruzzini and the Correr at San Biagio, of the *Corner della Regina*,[2] were of world-wide fame; so too the galleries of the Palazzo Barbarigo della Terrazza, the museums of the Tiepolo,[3] the Gradenigo, Jacopo Nani, Girolamo Ascanio Molin, and the collection of Venetian memoirs, books, manuscripts, pictures, majolica, bronzes, and coins begun in 1779 by Teodoro Correr, which now forms the nucleus of the Museo Civico. This rich store of precious objects began to stimulate the cupidity of foreign amateurs, and to rouse the greed of gain in the breasts of certain degenerate Venetians, and there came into being that trafficking

[1] Coronelli (*Viaggi*, cit., Part I, p. 23) says: "di pitture sono pieni i palazzi dei patrizi, le case dei cittadini e dei mercanti." See Levi, C. A., *Le collezioni Venez. e d'arte d'antichità*. Venezia, Vol. II, 1900.

[2] Coronelli (*Viaggi*, cit., Part I, p. 24). In the seventeenth century Bartolomeo Nava's collection of antiques and gems enjoyed a high repute. Among the gems was a great diamond valued at 25,000 ducats. The pictures included works by Titian, Catena, Palma Vecchio, Battista Zelotti, Jacopo Bassano, Andrea Schiavone, and other celebrated masters, which, later on, went to England. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 33. "Pour le grand nombre de beaux tableaux, il est constant qu'elle (Venise) passe toutes les villes d'Italie" and disputes the supremacy with Rome itself. Spon et Wheler, *Voy. d'Italie, de Dalmatie*, etc., cit., I, 44. De Brosses (Letter 14) says that in his day Venice was supposed to have more pictures than the whole of Italy put together; and adds: "Pour moi, ce que j'assurerai bien, c'est qu'il y en a plus que dans le France entière." For an account of the museums, galleries, and collections of Venice in the eighteenth century, see G. A. Moschini, *Lett. Ven.*, II, 76 et seq. Venezia, 1806.

[3] The catalogue of the numismatic collection of Tiepolo at Sant' Apollinare was published in 1737, in two volumes, under the title *Musei Theopuli antiqua numismata, olim collecta a Joanne Dominico Theopulo, aucta et edita a Laurentio equite et D. Maria procuratore et Federico Senatore fratribus Theopulis*.

in works of art which the Republic endeavoured with some success to hold in check.[1]

As early as the sixteenth century the Senate took steps to preserve the works of art in public buildings by the appointment of inspectors, and many provisions were passed with a view to conserving the artistic patrimony of the State. In 1773 a catalogue of the more important pictures was compiled, and it was forbidden, *sotto pena della pubblica indignazione*, to export or sell them; nor might they be restored *senza il previo riconoscimento*.[2] Anton Maria Zanetti, the historian of Venetian art, was appointed Inspector, and authorised to draw up the catalogue. He was succeeded in 1778 by Giambattista Mengardi.[3] Even

[1] Foreign purchasers who desired to possess a Venetian masterpiece had to pay a high price. Gabriello Balestrieri, of Parma, who was roving Italy to form a gallery for Paolo Coccapani, Bishop of Reggio, wrote from Venice, on January 9, 1644: "Di quattro pezzi di Paolo historiati, ma di figure però piccole, ne hanno domandato tredicimila e cinquecento ducatoni. Di alcuni pezzi che sono in casa di nobili ne domandano tre o quattro mila doppie, più che non si fanno quattrini nei nostri paesi, cosa che mi fa più che meravigliare." Campori, *Racc. di cataloghi e inventari, Catalogo dello Studio Coccapani*, n. 143. Modena, 1870. The Servite friars refused to sell Veronese's *Cena di Simeone* to the Duke of Mantua and to Cardinal d'Este, who offered 10,000 ducats and a copy by Guido Cagnozzo (Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Secreta*, 1, filza 70). This picture was presented in 1644 to the King of France. The celebrated picture of the *Tre Sorelle* by Palma Vecchio in the Dresden gallery (No. 268 in the catalogue of 1880) was bought, through Algarotti, in 1743, from the Procuratessa Cornaro della Cà grande for 600 sequins (see *Notizia dell' anonimo*, ed. Frizzoni, p. 165). Moschini (*Lett. Ven.*, cit., III, 50, 51) records that the English consuls in Venice were dealers in works of art. They bought from the nuns of San Jacopo di Murano various works of Paolo and Benedetto Caliari and of Palma Giovane. Consul Joseph Smith made a fortune by dealing in pictures and books, and Moschini mentions other strangers who made collections of pictures which eventually crossed the Alps. Smith employed Giovanni Sasso and Luca Breda to restore canvases in his palace.

[2] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, *Parti secrete*, filza 74. There is a memorandum addressed to the *Inquisitori di Stato*, April 20, 1773, and a vote of the Council of Ten providing that on the completion of the general catalogue the pictures enumerated shall be formally consigned to the care of the parish priests, wardens, and governors of the places where they may exist.

[3] Fulin, *Studi nell' Arch. degli Inq. di Stato*, cit., p. 107. The delicate task of restoration was entrusted to Pietro Edwards, who in 1728 opened his studio in the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

excessive measures were adopted to prevent the nation from being despoiled of its art treasures. In the seventeenth century, when the Dominicans of SS. Giovanni e Paolo entered into treaty for the sale of Titian's "Peter Martyr," the Senate intervened, and forbade the departure of the masterpiece, threatening death to any who should attempt to sell it.[1] There is also a tradition that towards the close of the Settecento the Grimanis had actually sold to a wealthy foreigner the statue of Marcus Agrippa which adorned the courtyard of their palace at Santa Maria Formosa; the workmen were ready to begin raising the colossal figure from its pedestal when the dreaded form of Cristofolo Cristofoli, sergeant to the Inquisitors, suddenly appeared on the scene; raising his cap to the marble statue, he pronounced these words: "The Supreme Council of the Inquisitors, understanding that you, Sior Marco, are about to leave this city, have sent me to wish you and his Excellency Grimani a pleasant journey." The Grimanis at once cancelled the contract, and Marcus Agrippa and his owner did not change domicile.

The Venetian government never forgot the noble traditions of Venetian art, and Venetian artists frequently applied to it for help and sometimes for satisfaction for petty vanity. The painters in 1679, for example, were no longer content, as heretofore, to associate in a single guild *cogli indoradori, miniatori, disegnadori, quoridoro, cartolari, pignateri, dipintori di travi e bianchegini*, and petitioned to *escorporarsi da sì profusa unione*. Their prayer was heard, and the State recognised the new *Collegio dei pittori*. In 1723 the sculptors followed

[1] Boschini, *Carta del navegar pittoresco*, p. 11. Venezia, 1660.

Disdotto mila scudi sta esquisita
Zogia da Daniel Nis fu negociada,
Ma chi comanda ga tagià la strada
Col dir lasséla là pena la vita.

Monument in Honour of the Doge Giovanni Pesaro in the Church of Sa. Maria dei Frari. Designed by Longhena. Sculptures by Melchior Berthel

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suit, and the Senate at once permitted them to dissociate themselves from the stone-cutters and to found a *Collegio degli scultori*. At the close of the century the demand arose for the formation of an academy, on the model of those already created in other cities, with professors, collections of engravings and casts, and a life school. The demand was repeated in the eighteenth century, and at last, on September 20, 1750, the Senate opened an *Accademia di pittura e scultura* in the Corn Exchange at San Marco. From modest beginnings the Academy gradually enriched itself with engravings and casts, drew up its statutes, and appointed its Council, of which Giambattista Tiepolo was named President, on February 5, 1755.[1] Tiepolo was succeeded as President by the painters Giambattista Pittoni, Diziani, Zanchi, Francesco Maggiotto,

[1] Dall' Acqua Giusti, *L'Accademia e la Galleria di Venezia*, §§ II and III. ("Atti della R. acc. di B. A." Venezia, 1873.) In one of the rooms in the present office of the Harbour Master there is the following inscription let into the wall: "MDCCLXIIII. XXVII. Settembre. Il Serenissimo Principe fa sapere, et per ordine del Magistrato eccel. de SS. Riformatori dello studio di Padova, che non vi sia alcuna persona, di che grado e condizione esser si voglia, che ardisca sotto alcun colore e pretesto introdursi in questo pub. luogo dell' accademia di pittura e scoltura alla sola autorità nostra soggetto, senza l'assenso e cognizione del presidente, e consiglieri dell' accademia stessa ancorchè con l'oggetto di applicarsi alli studj accademici per cui dovranno esser osservati gli ordini, e mettodi nelle leggi prescritti, alli quali dovrà cadauno de concorrenti alli studj medemi prestarvi la douta obbedienza et esecutione con tutta la quiete, silenzio, modestia, rispetto, e pronta rassegnazione, alle ordinazioni et a quanto venisse ingionto dal pressidente, ò suoi consiglieri, e maestri a quali ne viene riconfermata la già domandatale facoltà e precisamente incaricati all' adempimento di tali loro particolari inspezioni, rissoluta essendo la volontà nostra che la publica condiscendenza venghi venerata da chi si sia, ò concorrenti alli studj, ò spettatori de medemi in questa sede apperta al solo fine del comune vantaggio, riservando al nostro arbitrio quelle deliberazioni, che potranno servire di correzione agl' innobbedienti e disturbatori. E la presente doverà esser pubblicata nell' accademia di pittura e scoltura dal comandador del magistrato nostro, consegnata al Canceliere della medema per il dovuto registro et affissa ancora nella sala dell' accademia stessa per comune notizia, et puntuale esecuzione. Anzolo Contarini Pr Riformator. Alvise Vallaresso, Riformator. Francesco Morosini 2o Kr Pr Riformator. Davidde Marchesini, Segretario.

Canaletto, and Longhi, and by the sculptors Morlaiter and Marchiori. The walls of the school were adorned with valuable works of art, and among its pupils was Antonio Canova. The two Colleges of Sculptors and Painters were not, however, absorbed by the new Academy, and rivalry and jealousy between these bodies were rife.

The munificence of private patrons seconded the efforts of the government. The patrician abbé Filippo Farsetti, who in the course of his travels in Italy had formed a collection of casts taken from the more celebrated antique sculptures, carefully arranged them in the galleries of his palace at San Luca, which he threw open to students. The Pisani family in 1763 opened another academy under the direction of Pietro Longhi.

The private lives of these artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries preserved an even tenour in contrast to the general habit of their age, and were free from the viciousness which stained the fair name of their brothers in other countries, especially in the Seicento. The violence of their compositions by no means reveals the nature of these men. The artist is restless, the individual placid; the imagination revels in confused and disordered phantasies, but the mind remains calm and well balanced, and in their private life these masters refuse to allow their art to ruffle the harmonious movement of their days. This serenity and calm endowed them with health and long life; and many of them seem to have inherited from Titian, if not his genius, at least his dissociation from cares and worries and his sound constitution. To take only a few examples from the Seicento, Bambini, Lazzarini, and Longhena reached the age of eighty-six, Palma Giovane eighty-four, Liberi eighty-two, the architect Benoni seventy-six, Domenico Tintoretto and Andrea Vicentino seventy-five, the Aliense seventy-three. Their

THE Marriage of Cana, by A. Varotari. (Venice, Academy) *Photo by Naya*

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lives were passed in perfect comfort, for even their extraordinary rapidity of production could not suffice to keep pace with the orders that poured in upon them from the government, the Church, corporations, and private individuals. Some light is thrown upon the private life of these men and their relations with their patrons by a contract and the correspondence which passed between the Comune of Salò and Palma and the Aliense. Antonio Vassilacchi, called the Aliense, was a Greek by birth, a native of Milo, who came to Venice in his fifteenth year and at first followed Veronese but later on attached himself to Tintoretto. He produced a large amount of work in Venice and elsewhere, and some of his pictures are not without merit; for example, "The Surrender of Brescia" in 1426, on the walls of the Ducal Palace, and "The Arrival of Caterina Cornaro," now in the Museo Civico. Jacopo Palma had his schooling from his father, Antonio, a poor painter himself, but brother of Palma Vecchio. Jacopo was summoned to Urbino by the Duke, who took him under his protection; he returned to Venice in 1570, and with the help of Alessandro Vittoria he acquired a fine reputation, which was secured when the death of Paolo and Tintoretto left the field free of dangerous rivals. In the course of his varied and active career he constantly had the assistance of colleagues and pupils; and among these was the Aliense, with whom his relations were not always harmonious. These quarrels, however, did not end in scuffles, blows, and wounds, as happened so often in the other countries, but in suits which lined the pockets of the lawyers, who, as Ridolfi assures us, managed to make a considerable hole in the fortune of the Aliense. They did not succeed in crippling Palma, however; his commissions were so numerous that it soon became difficult to have a work from his studio, and the lucky artist was able to fix his own time and his own terms, not

always modest.[1] The Comune of Salò engaged the two artists to decorate their church. They bargained for four oil paintings and the frescoes of the apse at the price of one thousand three hundred crowns of seven Venetian lire each,[2] and paid three hundred crowns down on account. Their agent writes: "Sono stato in casa de tutti doi, quali stanno regiamente, et dico alla grande, che mostrano essere commodissimi, et per l'informazioni ch' io ho sono huomini ricchi, commodi e che si potrebbe trattar con loro d'ogni gran cosa."[3] The pictures were to be consigned by Christmas of 1602, but only on April 20, 1603, do the painters write to say that they are on the point of setting out with the four pictures finished and with the intention to begin the work on the apse, with the help of one of their pupils. "Le farà far proviggione de tre letti, perchè tanti ne fa bisogno, et del resto che ocorerà per uso nostro, et con instantia le riprego che le faccia in modo che non habbiamo da sbarcharsi in osteria." It would seem, however, that the people of Salò, angered by the long delay, placed little faith in the promises of the two artists, and Andrea Rotingo *et colleghi elletti alla pittura*

[1] Boschini, in his *Carta del navegar pittoresco*, says of Palma Giovane:

De i so quadri ghe xe le Giesie piene
Le Sagristie, le Scuole e Compagnie
De i lioghi Sacri; nè le xe busie
Tute no le puol scriver mile pene . . .
L'è stà dominator de sì gran Arte
E in tal muodo patron de la Pitura,
Che in quatro colpi el facea una figura,
E la se vede in tole, in tele, in carte.

[2] The two masters, apart from the oil paintings, were to paint the apse with the Assumption of the Virgin "colorita di fresco, con angeli che La compagnino et li Apostoli che siano in atto di veder detta Assunta." The contract obliged the artists "adoperar (nei quadri ad olio) colori fini azuri oltremarini et lache di grana, et la pitura a fresco li metteran tutta quella quantità d'oro che sarà necessaria per render l'opera più bella et magnifica." The artists named as their surety to the Comune of Salò the *Magco Sigr Alessandro Vittoria scultor di Venetia.* (Arch. della Magnifica Patria, Comune di Salò.)

[3] Arch. della Magn. Patria, Com. di Salò. Lett. di Giovanni Batt. Delaiolo (February 3, 1602).

wrote, on April 23, that if the delay were prolonged "disgusterà tutti noi, et si porgerà occasione di tentare tutti quelli legittimi rimedii che saran possibili perchè non siamo burlati et menati, come si dice, per il naso." At length, on May 7, 1603, Palma and the Aliense replied from Venice: "Li vostri quadri sono del tutto finiti, et quelli di me Palma furno posti in Chiesa de S. Zacharia di Venetia le feste passate di Resurretione, aciò fosse giudicate a giudicio universale . . . Restane ora che per adempir l'obligo nostro, giusto il tenor della scrittura, che dette opere sii giudicate da persone peritte nella proffesione. Et perchè siamo qui in questa città di Venetia, dove (gratia S. D. M^{a}) havemo quantità de huomini de vallor nella proffesione nostra . . . però havemo pensato che V. SS^{le} sii contente che dette nostre oppere sii giudicate da proffesori se hè fatte secondo l'obbligo nostro."[1]

Palma continued to work indefatigably for another quarter of a century, and, before he died, he prepared his tomb with three busts of himself, his uncle, and Titian, executed by Jacopo Alberelli, in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; and as though this distinguished company were not enough for him, he placed above the tomb a picture representing Genius and Fame.

Pietro Liberi likewise enjoyed a long and happy life. He was born in humble circumstances at Padua. It is said that his surname well described his habits, which in his youth were very free; and his art seems to reflect this bent. After travelling in Italy he settled in Venice, and was the first Prior of the College of Painters. He amassed a handsome fortune, and called in Sebastiano Mazzoni to build for him the massive palace at San Samuele on the Grand Canal, which later became the property of the family of Lin. Liberi let one of the apartments to the noble Antonio Dandolo,

[1] Arch. della Magn. Patria, Com. di Salò. Lett. di Giovanni Batt. Delaiolo (May 7, 1603).

husband of a handsome wife, who, it would seem, was not displeasing to the painter's son; for we read in an old manuscript: "Il figlio del pittor haveva preso tanta confidenza che il Dandolo haveva denari e rilasci da affitto, onde questo andava e veniva a suo piacere. Il giorno di . . . andò in ca' e lo trovò chiuso in camera della moglie, ove più volte lo haveva trovato, e fatto strepito fece fuggir il Liberi, vestì la moglie in boccassin, e la condusse in barca a' suoi fratelli e zio Foscarini, e gli la consegnò dicendo che gli restituiva la b. . . di sua sorella per non volersi imbrattar le mani nel sangue."[1]

The architect Baldassare Longhena, son of Melchisedecco, a poor stone-cutter of Marosa, near the Lake of Como, was a pupil of Scamozzi. He acquired fame and fortune, was appointed master builder to the Republic, and died at the age of eighty-six, on February 18, 1681, in his house in the Corte Rotta at San Severo. He was a small man, always dressed in black, and although a very bold designer, was of a gentle, even timid, manner, which prevented him from ever opposing any one whose opinions differed from his own, and led him as a rule to adopt the views of others.[2] Very different in character was Andrea Tirali (d. 1737), who, from being a simple builder, became no mean architect, though he always retained his overbearing temper and was harsh with his workmen, who nicknamed him *Tiranno* instead of *Tirali*.[3]

The painter Tiberio Tinelli, created chevalier by the King of France, had his life spoiled, for some time, by violent quarrels with wife and father-in-law; but when his wife, to whom he was really attached, wished to return to her father's house, he consented to a divorce, and, as Ridolfi says, "così la fiamma nel seno di lui rimase estinta e si spuntarono le saette d'amore."

[1] Bibl. Marciana, Cl. VII, Cod. 183, fol. 8.
[2] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 403. [3] Moschini, *Lett.*, III, 107.

The eighteenth century offers the same note of serenity as regards the lives of its artists, and we know but few details of their careers, which proves that they were not troubled by grave misfortunes or strange adventures. Rosalba Carriera, who expressed in her art all the gentleness of her nature, alone, toward the close of her days, lost that felicity which had so long smiled upon her. She was born on October 7, 1676; her father Andrea was a native of Chioggia and factor to the Procuratore Bon, and her mother, Angela Foresti, an embroideress. Rosalba was all goodness, and sought to preserve the peace of the family, preferring that company to any other; she was the friend and teacher of her sisters, also gifted maidens. Angela married the painter, Antonio Pellegrini, and Giovanna, the good *Nenetta*, who was Rosalba's constant companion and painted along with her in their modest house at San Vio, accompanied her to Paris and to Vienna, and left her plunged in grief when she died, in 1738. Eight years later Rosalba was stricken by another terrible misfortune, the loss of her sight. She was operated on for cataract and recovered her powers, but, by a cruel irony of fate, only for a few months, and those eyes which had drunk in the joy of colour and light were finally darkened forever. She passed the doloreus close of her days thinking of her past achievements, which had never made her haughty, and on her fortune, which was now too large for her desires or her wants. She died in 1758, and was buried in the church of San Vio by the side of her Nenetta.[1] Three months before her death madness overtook that fine and delicate brain.

Giambattista Piazzetta (1682-1753) was but little more fortunate. He amassed no fortune by his industry, being quite incapable of laying by a penny; he

[1] Malamani, *Rosalba Carriera* (extract from Vol. IV, *Le Gallerie Nazionali it.* Roma, 1699). See *Diario degli anni 1720-1721 scritto di propria mano in Parigi da R. Carriera.* Venezia, 1793.

died so poor that there was no money for his funeral, and he was buried at the charge of Giambattista Albrizzi, the bookseller, in the church of the Fava. Longhi, on the other hand, who shares with Rosalba the palm for grace and delicacy in Venetian art of the Settecento, passed a quiet and comfortable life. We know little else about him save that he was born in 1702, of a modest family of goldsmiths, and that in boyhood he followed that craft; that he studied under Balestra and became director of Pisani's academy. We do not know for certain when he died; there is no doubt, however, that if he did not outlive his eightieth year he came near to it.[1] It is curious that this portrayer of the light and refined side of domestic life should have begun his career by painting on the staircase of the Palazzo Sagredo (in 1734) that artificial composition "The Titans struck by Jove," where boldness is carried to the pitch of audacity and impetuosity reaches temerity. Nor is it less curious to note that this transcriber of every-day life and habits, who may fairly be called the Goldoni of the brush, was actually united in bonds of friendship with the author of the *Rusteghi*, who addressed him in a sonnet beginning:

> Longhi, tu che la mia musa sorella
> Chiami del tuo pennel che cerca il vero.[2]

Longhi's son, Alessandro, was an able portrait painter and engraver. He was less successful with the pen, though his work on contemporary Venetian artists is not without value.[3]

[1] Lazari, *Elogio di P. Longhi* ("Atti. della I. R. Accademia di B. A.") Venezia, 1862.

[2] *Componimenti poetici per le feliciss. nozze di SS. EE. il sig. Giov. Grimani e la Sig. Catterina Contarini.* Venezia, Pecora, 1750. Goldoni's sonnet is on p. lxxxvii.

[3] *Compendio della Vita dei pittori Ven. storici più rinomati del presente secolo con suoi ritratti tratti dal naturale delineati ed incisi da Aless. Longhi venez. aggiuntovi tre brevi trattati di pittura.* Venezia, sold by the author, 1762.

Antonio Canal — called Canaletto to distinguish him from his father Bernardo, scene-painter — was born in 1697. At the age of twenty-two he accompanied his father to Rome, but stayed there only a short time; he returned to Venice and entered a competition with two able rivals, Luca Carlevaris and Marco Ricci, whom he quickly excelled in renown. The English consul at Venice, Joseph Smith, used to sell for large prices the pictures he bought cheap from Canaletto, who resolved to secure the profits for himself and went to England, where he acquired fame and fortune.[1] He came back to Venice and died there, April 20, 1768, in his house in the Corte della Malvasia at San Lio.[2] Bernardo Bellotto (b. 1720) lived for long in Germany and Poland, and died at Warsaw in 1780. He was Canaletto's nephew and pupil, and he sometimes assumed his uncle's name. Francesco Guardi, born in Venice in 1712, belonged to a family of *cittadini* from Mastellina in the Trentino. He too was a pupil of Canaletto, whose rival he became. He died in his house in the Campiello della Maddona at San Canciano, in 1792. His wife, Maria Pagani, bore him three sons and a daughter, all rather wild and venturesome; tradition has it that she eloped with an Irishman.[3]

It is needless to dwell further on the history of other minor painters of this epoch. We know little of importance regarding the lives of two great artists that Venice gave to the world in the Settecento. Antonio Canova, born at Posagno on November 1, 1757, the son of Pietro, a poor stone-cutter, was brought to Venice when a mere boy under the protection of the family of Falier, who placed him with the sculptor Giovanni

[1] Moureau, *Ant. Canal dit le Canaletto*, p. 40. Paris, Libr. de l'Art.

[2] The Necrologies of the Sanitary Officers give us the following entry: "20 aprile 1768. Antonio q. Bernardo Canal d'anni 71 da febre et infiamazione della vissica g^ni 5, medico Musalo, morto alle ore sette. Capitolo, S. Lio."

[3] Simonson, *Francesco Guardi*. London, 1904.

Torretti. At the age of twenty-two he executed for the Procurator Pietro Pisani the group of "Dædalus and Icarus," which, along with the head of Pope Rezzonico, is the master's finest work. But in 1780, having secured from the Republic a pension of three hundred ducats a year for three years, he left Venice for Rome, where dawned for him that period of exaggerated renown which proclaimed him "divine."

Nor does the bold and splendid brush of Tiepolo the painter really correspond to the temperament of Tiepolo the individual, who passed his life in health and domestic felicity, placid as a lake in repose, free from hindrances, disappointments, or strife. He was the son of a captain in the merchant service well found in this world's goods; he studied under Lazzarini, and at the age of twenty-two he married Cecilia Guardi, sister of the painter Francesco; this union was blessed by nine children, among them the two painters and engravers, Giandomenico and Lorenzo, who were ever united to their father in bonds of love and labour. Tiepolo took his repose in the villa of Zianigo, near Mirano, when he was not summoned to Italian or foreign cities to leave behind him the luminous creatures of his brush. The anecdotes which tradition has handed down to us about his love for his model Cristina and his rivalry with the painter Mengs in Spain, must be accepted with caution, especially all that refers to his excellent wife Cecilia, who is represented as a votary of gambling. Certain it is that, thanks to Tiepolo, Venetian art once more acquired an honoured name throughout Europe, and when he died at Madrid, on March 27, 1770, in full possession of his faculties and of his lively imagination, the last of the great Venetian artists disappeared.

As the glory of Venice declined, a final ray of her ancient splendour in the world of art still gleamed upon her forehead, and the close of her day was radiant as an autumn sunset on the lagoon.

Dædalus and Icarus, by A. Canova.
(Venice, Academy)

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CHAPTER IV

HEALTH AND CLEANLINESS IN THE CITY — FÊTES AND CEREMONIES

VENICE was famous throughout Europe not merely for the singularity of its aspect and the splendour of its art, but also for its mild and healthy climate, and the innate courtesy of its inhabitants, for the magnificence of its festivals and the variety of amusements it offered. The mystery with which the government chose to surround itself may possibly have caused anxiety to some timorous stranger, but that was quickly dissipated by the frank gaiety of the Venetians themselves, and many who came to the lagoons out of mere curiosity returned with delight to pass long days in tranquil and cheerful repose.[1] Germans, French, Spaniards, Poles, and, above all, Englishmen made long sojourns in Venice, and provided he did not discuss politics every one was free to do as he liked. "La fameuse liberté de Venise," says Saint-Didier, writing in the seventeenth century, "y attire les étrangers en foule, les divertissements et les plaisirs les y arrêtent."[2] In 1765 De La Lande adds: "Dans tout ce qui n'a pas trait au gouvernement on jouit à Venise de la plus grande liberté et les étrangers n'y sont point gênés."[3] It is true that in 1735 Pietro Giannone, after a most hearty welcome to the lagoons, was expelled from Venice, but only on lively

[1] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., Vol. I, Part II, p. 249.
[2] Saint-Didier, *La Ville et la Republique de Venise*, p. 329. La Haye, 1685.
[3] De La Lande, *Voy. en It.*, cit., II, 32.

belonging to the Buranelli were out breaking up the ice with hammers. There was a great dearth of provisions in the city, and the wood boats from the Polesine could not reach Venice, either by river or by sea, owing to the high winds; in the streets they sold the broken wood which is usually employed to light the furnaces of Murano; bark strips were selling at five for a *soldo*. The cold was general everywhere. The post took over eight days to come from Rome, owing to the depth of the snow in the Duchy of Urbino; and had not his Highness sent out upwards of three hundred men to clear the roads in the mountains, the post would not have got through even in fifteen days. In short, the memory of man recalleth not so terrible a winter with such a snowfall, and it lasted till Easter. God be praised for all he does."[1]

The winter of 1788 was also remarkable for its severity, and the memory of it still lingers in popular song. The lagoon was frozen over, and people could cover the three kilometres and a half that divide the city from the mainland on foot. Deaths from cold were frequent, and some persons who left the beaten track across the ice perished in the water. But such misfortunes could not damp the jocund spirits of the people, who soon found a new pastime on the ice, and the general gaiety was assisted by the government, which removed the octroi dues and allowed the free entry of meat and wine and other victuals. The frozen lagoon swarmed with people. There were games such as the *Forze d'Ercole* and the *Moresca;* sheds and pavilions where one could eat and drink were opened on the ice; while great bonfires attracted a laughing and chattering crowd; others took to playing at ball; and, when night came down, the surface of the lagoon was covered with little lights from the lanterns of people making for Mestre and Campalto.

[1] Sivos, *Cronaca*, III, 151.

HIGH WATER in the Piazza di S. Marco

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Another curious sight in Venice was the *acqua alta*, when the tide, under the blast of the scirocco, invaded the low-lying quarters of the city, especially the Piazza di San Marco, which became a veritable lake, reflecting the Procuratie and the Basilica. During the two centuries we are discussing we find record of several inundations; for example, in 1600 the high tide seriously injured the fishing grounds and the vineyards of the estuary. In 1625 the salt water ruined the wells of the city. In 1686 *li gentilhuomeni per la piazza di San Marco andavano in le gondole sino in Marzaria.*[1] The same happened in 1746, 1750, 1792, and 1794, when few streets of the city were free of water, and people had to go about in boats or to be carried on the shoulders of brawny porters.[2] And so even bad weather lent new and singular effects to the marvellous city, whose beauty, even under rain, snow, or ice, was not destroyed, but merely diversified. As a rule, however, the seasons in Venice followed a regular course, and the city was reckoned a healthy resort for those who required a mild winter.[3]

The government contributed in a high degree to this excellent reputation of Venice by constant vigilance in all that affected public health. Considering the period, their measures could not have been more intelligent or better applied. In order to cope with the plague, which in 1630 carried off eighty thousand souls,[4] the Sanitary Office provided for rigid isolation by regulations which were afterwards adopted by other nations. The old lazzaretto of Santa Maria in Nazareth, founded in 1403, and the new lazzaretto, erected towards the

[1] Giomo, *Il freddo del 1513 e l'alta marea del 1686* (*Arch. Ven.*, XVII, 328).

[2] Gallicciolli, *Mem. Ven.*, cit., I, 795.

[3] "Le climat de Venise paroît assez bon, puisque les habitans de Venise passent pour vivre plus longtemps que les autres." De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 86.

[4] It began in July of 1630 and did not end till November, 1631.

close of the sixteenth century, were found insufficient in 1782, and the island of Poveglia was selected as the site of another. So efficient were the measures adopted that when the plague was brought to Venice in 1793 by a vessel from the Levant, it was entirely confined to Poveglia. The jurisdiction of the Board of Health was gradually extended till it included doctors, surgeons, chemists, hospitals, burials, beggars, and even the health of prostitutes. The food supply was supervised, and, with a view to securing healthy nutriment for the lower classes, special officers, such as the *Ufficiali alle Beccarie* and the inspectors of oil and wine and grain and flour, were appointed. The government paid special attention to the quantity and quality of grain and to the bakeries, and except on rare occasions the city never suffered from a dearth of corn, which was stored in the ample granaries of San Marco and San Biagio. The Board of Health also endeavoured to remove abuses in the care of the sick by persons not qualified in medicine and surgery. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries severe measures were taken not only *circa il medicar ed altro spettante alla medicina*, but also as regards pharmacy, which was still involved in the errors of empiricism. The College of Apothecaries was declared subject to the College of Physicians, which was entrusted with the examination of specifics and patent medicines.[1] No one who was not *addottorato o licenziato poteva dare medicamenti*, and the Prior of the medical college, was bound to print the roll (*rotollo*)

[1] The laws of December 9, 1608, September 26, 1689, and August 4, 1760, reaffirm the law of April 24, 1577, passed by the Board of Health, forbidding the sale of specifics until they had been analysed by the College of Physicians. Among the more famous specifics, besides the celebrated *triaca*, we may mention *lo spirito di melissa aromatizzato*, made by the Carmelites of San Geramia, who secured a patent for it on August 7, 1754, and *la tintura acquosa de assenzio*, which was produced as early as 1658 by the *officina Hieronymi Mantuani pharmacopolae Venetiis in via lata D. Marci sub signo Redemptoris*. Dian, *Cenni storici sulla farmacia Veneta*, Part I, pp. 5, 25, 28; Part III, pp. 3 and 4. Venezia, 1900–1902.

containing the certificates of all those who had passed the examination. Chemists were forbidden to dispense *medicina alcuna solutiva* except on the prescription and signature of a physician.

As regards the cleanliness of the city, entrusted to the Provveditori del Comun, we naturally cannot expect to find all those precautions demanded by the public opinion of our own day, but so sadly neglected in times past, however rich and sumptuous they may have been. The system of drainage was primitive. The privy in most houses was in the kitchen, near the sink. Slops either passed directly into the canal or were collected in *bottini*, or tanks, which were emptied in the night time by men who carried the contents away in boats. The scavengering of the streets was neglected, but in order to prevent the rubbish from being emptied into the canals to be carried out into the lagoons, thereby tending to choke them, the government built square receptacles, called *scoazzere*, where the sweepings of the streets were deposited, to be eventually carried away and used as manure for the gardens of the estuary.[1] The supervision of scavengering was entrusted to the *Nettadori dei Sestieri*, who depended on the water commissioners; and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they frequently restored the ruined *scoazzere*. Nevertheless, even in 1786, Goethe remarked on the filth of the city, all the less excusable as the original builders had slightly arched the centre of each *calle* and constructed gutters on either side to catch the water and run it into the canals. Not all the streets were paved with stone; some still had pavements of bricks placed edgewise, others were merely earth. The tortuous character of the *calli* was a benefit rather than a drawback to the public health, if we accept Palladio's dictum that the streets of a town "non riguardino per linea retta ad alcun vento, acciochè per quello non si

[1] Gallicciolli, I, 73.

sentino i venti furiosi e violenti, ma con più sanità degli habitatori venghino rotti, purgati, e stanchi."

Venice, the rendezvous of all that was fashionable, enjoyed a European reputation for her public *fêtes* which were arranged by the government, with the double intent to attract as many foreigners as possible and to hide, as under a golden mantle, the wounds inflicted on her pride by the decline of her commerce and the ruin of her political prestige. The solemn ceremonies of State served not only to arouse the admiration of the populace, but also to impress on them respect for the governing class, who always bore in mind the fact that ancient Rome held her people in subjection by public shows no less than by arms. The populace took its pleasure in the functions attending the election of Doge, Patriarch, Procurators, Captains General, Grand Chancellors, and in the splendid receptions accorded to sovereigns, princes, and pontiffs. The sumptuous character of public ceremonies, which had touched an extravagance of luxury even by the close of the Cinquecento, surpassed all bounds in the following century, to be moderated by the somewhat artificial grace of the Settecento. Magniloquence characterised the orations when a Doge ascended "sul luminoso carro del Principato, che su le ruote di quattro virtù principali conduce la politica felicità al suo trionfo"[1]; while the sonorous trumps of Pindus are invoked:

> Quà volgi i cento lumi alata Diva
> E porgi fiato a cento trombe altere.[2]

The extravagant and florid literary style of the Seicento reflects the pompous ceremonies which accompanied the election of a Doge. When, in 1688,

[1] *Nell' elet. del Serenissimo Silvestro Valier al prencipato di Venetia.* The oration of Giov. Teodoro Giusti, p. 7. Udine, Schiratti, 1694.

[2] *Tributi di Pindo nell' incoronatione del Sereniss. Prencipe Fr. Morosini,* etc., p. 21. Venetia, 1690.

Francesco Morosini was called to the ducal throne, the Bucintoro, crowded with the nobility and followed by a dense mass of boats, went to the Lido to meet the newly elected prince. Morosini was robed as Captain-General, and on going aboard the golden barge he consigned his baton to a secretary of the Senate. The prow was set towards Venice, and Morosini landed at the Piazzetta, where a triumphal arch, forty feet high, had been erected. The façades of the Palace were hung with damask, and opposite the Porta della Carta rose two huge fountains, with statues of Neptune, surrounded by dolphins, spouting wine from their mouths into large conchs, while a gay and noisy crowd struggled for a drink. The Doge passed into his apartments, which *sembravano teatri pieni di cose di sommo valore*.[1]

The crowning of the Doge took place at the top of the Giants' Staircase. To celebrate the occasion the people were allowed to go masked for three days, and the halls of the Palace were thrown open for *fêtes* and dances, to which were invited the patricians in red robes, the secretaries in black, distinguished foreigners in full dress with swords, ladies in all the pomp of their most splendid apparel, all of whom were received by the Doge's near relations. In 1646 the coronation of the Dogaressa was abolished *come azione poco aggiustata alla moderazion del Governo;* but in 1694 an exception was made — the only one in these two centuries — in favour of Elisabetta Querini, wife of Silvestro Valier, who was crowned with great ceremony. All the Dogaresse, however, were received at the Palace with special honours, seeing that "la sapienza dei progenitori nell' assegnare al supremo grado del

[1] *Distinto ragguaglio delle cerimonie e solennità nel recevimento in Venetia dell' invitto e serenis. Doge F. Morosini.* Venetia, Prodocimo, 1690. Many accounts of the ceremonies of this coronation were printed, and some may be found in the *Miscellanea opuscoli* of the Marciana.

Serenissimo Principe le più illustri prerogative ed onorificenze, non lasciò di decorarlo ancora nella persona della Dogaressa."[1] The haughty pride of the nobility did not insist on abolishing some traditional customs intended to flatter the populace. For instance, they were admitted to the Palace on certain festivals provided they wore masks, and the antique ceremony of the fruiterers' visit to the Doge was never discontinued.[2]

Vast sums were squandered by the patricians to celebrate their election to the high offices of State.[3] A Pisani, nominated Procurator of San Marco, spent six thousand ducats to secure leave from the Sumptuary Board to raise arches and trophies which cost him upwards of thirty thousand ducats,[4] and in 1779 a dependant of the illustrious family of Mocenigo thus describes the festival for the entry of the Procurator Pietro Mocenigo: "Queste feste sono riuscite grandiose

[1] *Promissio Ser. Venet. Ducis. Ser. Al. Mocenigo duce edita.* ex. typ. duc. Pinelliana, 1763. "Volendo (la Dogaressa) intervenire alle feste, solite darsi in simile incontro (the election of a Doge) nel ducale Palazzo, possa portarvisi coll' accompagnamento prescritto dalla Parte del M. C. 13 luglio, 1700, oltre le persone di suo servizio e tenervi luogo distinto e conveniente al suo grado." *Delib. del M. C. 16 Apr. 1763.* Giomo, *Elez. del doge Mocenigo Alvise IV.* Published per nozze Mocenigo-Faè di Bruno. Venezia, 1905.

[2] "Secondo l'ordinario fu portato il solito presente dell' arte de frutaroli al Ser^mo (Antonio Priuli) questo primo anno 1618, come si fa a tutti li Dosi, il primo anno solo, et portano con bellissima ordinanza grandissima quantità de melloni, non solamente alquanti corboni pieni ma ogniuno nei bacili d'argento, o coppa d'argento il suo mellone adorno de fiori, li quali graziosamente ricevuti da sua Serenità le fù risposto pei corboni una barilla de moscato per ogni uno, et altri pieni di bellissimo pan fresco, et sopra li barilli quantità di saladi, pesciurti, et buzzolai fatti a posta, segno de gratitudine de vero Prencipe verso li suoi fedeli popoli." Sivos, *Cron.*, cit., IV, 115. And for the eighteenth century see Benigna, *Mem.* MSS. (1714–1760), Bibl. Marciana, Cl. VII, ital. Cod. MDCXX, fol. 13, August, 1723.

[3] Curti, *Mem. stor. pol. sopra la R. di. V.*, I, 129. Venezia, 1812. "Le spese, che cadono a carico della Pubblica Cassa, e quelle delle due famiglie ducali, vale a dire del Doge defunto e del nuovo eletto ammontano a duecentomille ducati all' incirca per lo meno."

[4] Casotti, *Lettere da Venezia* (1713), p. 10. Prato, 1866. For an account of such ceremonies in the seventeenth century, see the description of the solemn entry on the Procuratorship of Girolamo Basadonna, in Ivanovich's *Minerva al tavolino*, cit., II, 118 et seq.

sopra quante altre si sono vedute in simili occasioni per la produzione delli rinfreschi, del denaro gittato alla plebe, del pane, e del vino dispensato, e per l'immensa quantità delle cere sparse dentro e fuori delle finestre di codesto Palazzo di San Stae con grandissima bravura, e con stupore di tutta la città, preparato, per così dire, nello spazio di una sola notte, e magnificamente per la mattina di sabato da questo mastro di casa, il Signor Salvi, con l'esatta distribuzione di tutte le dispense ed offizi necessari in simili incontri. Le spese di queste feste prese in pieno con quelle dell' ingresso che seguirà nel prossimo aprile, ascenderanno per lo meno alla summa di quaranta mila ducati in vivo contante."[1] In 1788 another branch of the same family, the Mocenigo of San Samuele, on the appointment of their head as Procurator, in the space of seven hours fitted up a suite of forty rooms in their three palaces on the Grand Canal. On July 10, 1713, when Lorenzo Tiepolo entered on the same dignity, an eyewitness, after describing the city *en fête*, the procession of the patricians, the soldiers, and the innumerable masqueraders, goes on to say: "Ma quello ch' è molto più bello a vedere, e che da sè solo, oltre il divertimento, è capace di far formare una grand' idea di Venezia è la Merceria, messa con buonissimo gusto in gala dai mercanti, che convertono in nobilissimo ornato, ma con isquisito disegno e con ottima disposizione, le merci della propria bottega; drappi d'oro, guarnizioni d'oro, trine e punti finissimi, telerie, nastri d'ogni sorte, e fra queste, ogni altra sorte di merce: ch' è cosa vaghissima e benissimo intesa . . . Dall' eccellentissimo Magistrato delle pompe fu intimato ai merciai, che usassero una certa moderazione, oltre che non si veggiono in queste congiunture i galloni, i nastri, i drappi d'oro più vaghi e di nuova invenzione, perchè il mercante non vuole

[1] Arch. priv. Mocenigo di San Stae, *Lett. del Cappellano del Doge*, December 1, 1779.

esporsi al pericolo che gli sia copiato il disegno. Era stato proibito anche l'esporre il ritratto del Procuratore; ma questo si vedeva pure in carta in ogni bottega, variamente adornato da ciascheduno colle sue proprie mercanzie; e in molti luoghi con motti eruditi; oltre una infinita quantità di poesie e italiane e latine di varî generi, che si leggevano affisse dappertutto."[1]

Even when abroad the representatives of the Republic felt bound to hold high the name of Venice, and to recall her splendour and traditional courtesy in a foreign land. Nor was this sentiment confined to Venetian envoys, whose ample salaries were never adequate to their train of life, but any one who bore a public office considered it his duty to prove to the stranger that the wealth and magnificence of his fatherland were in no way inferior to the traditions of the place. We have a curious illustration in the case of the Admiral Francesco Correr, who, while lying in Leghorn, on January 10, 1712, gave a great entertainment which a contemporary declared to be as sumptuous as the famous *Cena* depicted by Veronese. On January 15 a certain Angela Colli Tologni wrote to the brother of Correr, sending him a *piccola relatione della superbissima festa dell' Eccellmo Signor Almirante*, written by Giacomo Bonaccogli, who says: "Eravi una gran sala dalle cui pareti pendere si vedeva superbissimi addobbi e specchi e quadri che una vaghissima galleria componevano. Inalzata poi miravasi nel suo prospetto una grandiosa credenza adornata di pretiosissimi vasellami d'oro e d'argento, sopra della quale vedevansi per aria due vaghi angioletti sostenere dell' illustre signore lo stemma. Quivi la varietà dei frutti e la vaghezza dei fiori lusingava talmente l'immaginazione dei riguardanti, che questi credevano essere il trono della primavera. Da una parte si vedeano schierate varie sorta di freddi, dall' altra manipolati in varie giuse campeggiavano i latti.

[1] Casotti, *Lettere*, cit., pp. 10, 11.

Torreggiavano all' incontro due gran piramidi di tersissimi cristalli. Alla destra si contemplavano, inalzati come in trionfo sopra cassette dorate, pretiosi liquori, e s'ammirò nella sinistra il simulacro di Bacco, che dilettavasi fra la copia ben grande di squisitissimi vini. Pendevano da quattro grand' aste dorate quattro gran lumiere di finissimo argento, e da quattro pilastri vagamente addobbati s'inalzava nel mezzo un sontuoso padiglione, intorno al quale leggermente svolazzando alcuni angioletti dorati formavano corona alla gran tavola, che sotto si mirava imbandita. Qui sì che per la finezza dei vini, per la bellezza delle statue, per la magnificenza dei trionfi non aveva l'occhio più sontuoso da vedere, non il cuore di più vago da desiderare . . . Si proseguì . . . fino alle tre ore della notte la danza, che terminatasi si portarono e dame e cavalier in essa gran sala, ove a tavola assisi non seppero abbastanza lodare l'eccellenza dei liquori, l'innumerabile moltitudine, varietà e delicatezza delle vivande, delle quali per quattro volte altro non si fece che caricare, scaricare e ricaricare la mensa. . . . Terminata con soddisfazione comune tra l'aura degli applausi (to the generous donor of the feast) la cena, e ritornate di bel nuovo le dame e i cavalieri al ballo, in questo dilettevole trattenimento passarono il rimanente di une nott sì lieta, che mai per lo addietro può vantarsi Livorno d'averne veduta una somigliante."[1]

At Venice every success was celebrated by *fêtes*, and the expansive temper of the people overflowed with a healthy and ringing gaiety should news of victory to Venetian arms reach the city from the distant shores of Crete or the Peloponnese. Then the whole city was upside down; the shops were closed, the people poured into the street in a delirium of joy; the churches resounded to hymns of praise, and through the seething crowd the procession of clergy and of magistrates with gorgeous banners slowly advanced

[1] Arch. priv. Correr. Cod. LXVI.

down streets adorned with carpets and tapestries, while sham fights took place in the open squares.[1]

We must record another characteristic event in the life of the city. Venetian subjects who fell into the hands of the Turks were often cruelly tortured and maimed; some lost their nose, eyes, or ears, and all were kept in close confinement. Accordingly preachers in the pulpit were wont to urge the giving of alms for the liberation of prisoners, and notaries when drawing up wills always reminded the testator of his imprisoned fellow-countrymen; the government welcomed to Venice the Trinitarian Barefoot Friars, whose order was chiefly engaged in the ransom of slaves. In 1765 the Republic succeeded in liberating eighty-nine, and their return to Venice aroused unbounded enthusiasm. The chaplain of the Doge, Alvise Mocenigo, in a letter dated January 16th says: "Ieri mattina in questa Dominante si fece una strepitosa funzione per il riscatto fatto dalle mani dei turchi di ottantanove schiavi, quali accompagnati da ottantanove cavalieri, col seguito di molte Scuole, e suffraggi, e di un numeroso popolo, sono stati processionalmente condotti per la città, ed in varie chiese, l'una e le altre fornite con sorprendente maestà e decoro. Noi non siamo arrivati a tempo di veder la pomposa processione, nè il più bello della funzione; ma pure dalli apparecchi ancor sussistenti abbiamo potuto congetturare, quanto bella e magnifica sia ella stata. Per il riscatto di questi schiavi si conta che la Repubblica s'attrovi in esborso di vintiotto milla Cecchini."[2]

But, above all, the public reception of distinguished foreigners and ambassadors offered an occasion to the

[1] Dalla Spada Virginio, *Giubili e acclamationi della città di Venetia per la vittoria contro l'armata Turchesca ottenuta l'anno 1649 nel porto di Focchie.* Venezia, Pinelli, 1649. *Ordine e processioni nella gloriosa Vitt. navale della Rep. contro Turchi (li 12 maggio 1649) di commissione di Mons. Gio. Fr. Morosini, patriarca di Ven.* Venezia, Pinelli, 1649.

[2] Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Lettere del Cappellano del Doge*, cit.

government to apply that maxim of statecraft by which she endeavoured to convince the world[1] that her external pomp and splendour, enhanced rather than diminished, were a genuine proof of her vigour and vitality. The list of visitors during the seventeenth century is rich in princely names: in 1608 Vittorio Amadeo and Filiberto, sons of the Duke of Savoy; in 1609, the Duke of Nevers and Duke Carlo Gonzaga; in 1624, Ladislaus, Prince of Poland; in 1628, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II, and in 1664 his son Cosimo; in 1684, Maximilian of Bavaria; in 1685, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick,—all of them magnificently lodged and entertained. Ferdinand II of Tuscany was housed in the Palazzo Corner at San Maurizio. In his honour all the shops of the Merceria were decked in white, there was a splendid regatta on the Grand Canal, and the Foscari in their palace, already famous for other royal visits, gave a ball at which one hundred and thirty ladies, who had leave from the Sumptuary Board to wear embroidery, lace, and jewels, took part. The Grand Duke went to visit the Doge, who received him accompanied by twenty-six Senators. A contemporary says: "Arrivati nell' ultima stanza dell' appartamento ch' era una gran sala, dove era preparato il solio con le sedie intorno per li Senatori, Sua Altezza invitatane e pregatane dal Doge, si pose a sedere sul primo luogo, nel secondo stette Sua Serenità. . . . Stava la sessione in questo modo: in testa del salone sopra un rilevato di due scalini, ove vi era un baldacchino, erano poste tre sedie grandi di velluto tutte eguali; sebben pareva che quella di mezzo

[1] The Nuncio and the ambassadors of the Great Powers were received at the Palace with the ceremony already described. At Milan, in the Palazzo Sormani at Porta Vittoria, is a large canvas by Canaletto with figures, it is said, by Tiepolo. It represents the Imperial ambassador, Conte Giuseppe di Bolagno, landing on the Molo on May 16, 1729, on his way to his first audience in the Ducal Palace. (Arch. di Stato, *Cerimoniali*, reg. IV, fol. 59.)

havesse un dito divantaggio d'altezza di spalliera. Dietro alle sedie lungo il muro, a foggia di paramento, era tre teli di drappo d'oro, che stavano uniti e distesi; li teli di quello di mezzo, e dell' altro a man dritta erano di velluto col fondo d'oro, e quel telo, che stava dietro all' altra sedia a man manca, era di opera differente e men ricca, cioè di broccato."[1] Thirty-two years later Ferdinand's son, Cosimo III, also desired to see Venice, and the account of his journey, compiled by Filippo Pizzichi, chaplain to the Prince, gives a detailed description of Venetian *fêtes*.[2]

In April, 1685, the Duke of Brunswick, on his way to the wars in the Morea, arrived at Venice with his troops, and was assigned quarters on the Lido. Noble Venetian gentlemen and ladies flocked thither to attend the reviews, which were followed by music and dances in a little theatre, representing a forest glade, expressly erected for the occasion. The troops left for the scene of action, but the Duke preferred to linger on in the lazy atmosphere of the lagoon, amused by *fêtes*, serenades, and regattas.[3] The regatta was the most peculiarly Venetian of spectacles, and therefore the most popular with strangers who visited the lagoon.[4] The race started from the point of Sant' Antonio di Castello, followed the Grand Canal, and on reaching its end

[1] *Historia del Viaggio d'Allemagna del S. G. D. de Toscana, Ferdinando II*, dedicated to Giovanni da Erasso, his Catholic Majesty's ambassador in Tuscany, by the Signora Margherita Costa of Rome. In Venezia, 1628, pp. 107, 108.

[2] Pizzichi, *Viaggio per l'alta Italia del Sereniss. principe di Toscana.* Firenze, 1828.

[3] Alberti, Giov. Maria, *Giuochi festivi e militari, danze, serenate, macchine, boscareccia artificiosa, regata solenne et altri sontuosi apprestamenti di allegrezza esposti alla soddisfazione universale dalla generosità dell' Altezza Ser. di Ernesto duca di Brunsvich, e Luneburgo, Principe di Osnabruch ecc. al tempo di sua dimora in Venetia.* Venezia, Poletti, 1686.

[4] Coyer (*Voy.*, cit., p. 26) says: "Quand vous voudrez voir Venise, arrivez-y la vielle d'une Régate, fête extraordinaire que la République ne donne qu'aux têtes couronnées." As a matter of fact, the regatta was given for the popular amusement.

THE REGATTA — from an engraving by Michele Marieschi

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opposite the Ponte della Croce, turned round a pole (*paletto*) and retraced its course down the canal to the *macchina*, or pavilion erected on boats at the *volta di canal*, between the Foscari and Balbi palaces, where the prizes were delivered. There were four races and four prizes for each race. The first prize was a purse of money attached to a red flag, the second a green flag, the third a blue flag, the fourth a yellow flag with a porker painted on it, and a live porker as a jibe at the competitor's slowness. All the winners received money. Sometimes women took part in the races.[1] The course was kept along the canal by the *bissone*, *peote*, *margarote*, *balotine*, boats of eight and more oars, sumptuously or fantastically adorned at the expense of wealthy patricians,[2] or art guilds, while at the palace windows, hung with tapestries, carpets, and flags, stood the ladies of Venice, and the mob crowded the landing-places, the traghettos, and the innumerable boats of every build that followed the fortunes of the race.

For the regatta which the Duke of Brunswick arranged at his own expense he employed enormous mythological and symbolical figures decorated with a sumptuousness which was almost grotesque. At the

[1] For the first time in 1493 and for the last in 1784. Cicogna, *Lettera*, on the poem by Cleandro di Prata. Venezia, 1856.

[2] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, describing a regatta, which she says is one of the most singular spectacles in the world, gives an account of the various *bissone* fitted out by patrician families. Mocenigo had a representation of Night with sea horses, the moon, stars, and the twenty-four hours; Soranzo, Poland with its provinces and rivers; Contarini, the liberal arts, with Apollo, the Muses, and Fame; Foscarini, the car of Flora surrounded by Cupids; Contarini-Zane, Victory seated in the stern, with military trophies; Correr, the Adriatic with historical symbols; Gradenigo, the garden of the Hesperides with statues; Quirini, the car of Venus drawn by doves; Morosini, the triumph of Peace, with Discord in chains at her feet, and a group representing the Pleasures about her. There were other boats fitted out as gardens, halls, galleries. *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, II, 65. London, 1893. For Lady Mary's stay in Venice, see Marinoni, *L. Montagù prima della sua venuta alle rive del Sebino*. Lovere, 1903.

winning post near the Palazzo Foscari a huge whale opened his jaws, whence issued a man dressed as a marine monster, who delivered the prizes.

The public receptions of the eighteenth century displayed the same splendour, but with a better taste.

The city gave itself up to revelry for the arrival of Frederick IV, King of Denmark and Norway, who stayed from December 29, 1708, to March 6, 1709. Wishing to enjoy complete liberty, he desired to be received privately under the name of the Count of Oldenbourg. He was lodged in the Palazzo Foscarini at Sant' Eustachio. The Republic showered gifts on the sovereign, who during his sojourn was never weary of attending church functions and civic ceremonies, the carnival festivities, bull-baiting, regattas, and the theatre. Nor were private families less liberal than the State, and the Morosini, the Nani, and the Dolfin threw open their palaces for balls, concerts, dinners, and suppers.[1]

To ingratiate herself with England, which was beginning to make her influence felt in Italy,[2] the Republic, in June of 1764, bestowed great honours on Edward Augustus, Duke of York, who attended the most splendid regatta which was given in that century and two balls *du plus grand éclat*, as Coyer declares: "Le premier, moitié paré, moitié masqué, a été donné au beau palais Rezzonico, aux frais du Pape. C'est la Princesse sa nièce qui en a fait les honneurs. . . . L'autre bal tout paré, que la République lui a donné, offrait un mélange de magnificence et de modestie sombre, que formait un tableau qu'on ne voit pas ailleurs. Toute la noblesse Vénitienne, couverte des étoffes les plus riches, ce n'est rien; les femmes si chargées de perles et de pierreries,

[1] Renier-Michiel, *Origine delle Feste Venez.*, IV, 69. Milano, 1829.

[2] Though the populace styled the English *panimbrui* in derision, yet England was respected and liked in Venice. Goldoni frequently confesses his desire to copy the English ways and customs.

qu'on les prendrait pour des Sultanes. Voilà la magnificence : voici la modestie en contraste. Les *gentildone*, c'est-à-dire les femmes des nobles de terre-ferme, et les premières bourgeoises de la Ville, jetées derrière ce cercle brillant, en vêtemens noirs ; vous eussiez dit de veuves qui pleuraient la mort de leurs maris. Les vierges, qui voulurent profiter du bal, étaient reléguées dans le même rang, avec la même modestie."[1]

The visit of Prince Frederick Christian, son of Frederick Augustus III, King of Poland, in 1740, was celebrated by balls, banquets, and regattas. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was present at a ball given by the Mocenigo of San Samuele, and declares that she never saw a finer.[2] Duke Clement Augustus of Bavaria, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, when on his way to the Court of Pope Benedict XIV in 1755, rested some days in Venice. A sumptuous banquet was given in his honour in the Palazzo Nani on the Giudecca, and a painter of the school of Longhi has left us a picture portraying the scene, while we also possess the following description by a contemporary : "The Duke was served on gold plate ; the table was a large horse-shoe, with plain napkins laid for one hundred and eighty ladies and gentlemen, all dressed in the finest of French fashions. The courses were three in number, and numbered one hundred and twenty-five dishes each, making a total of three hundred and seventy five. The dessert was designed by Marco Franceschi, whose shop was at San Moisè ; it consisted of thirty-five centre-pieces with forty-eight side dishes full of syrups. Then came the Cabaré, that is to say, fruit ices of every kind and flavour, served on thirty-two silver salvers of various sizes and shapes. The whole palace was decked out and guarded by artillerymen in uniform. Inside it was brilliantly lit by crystal chandeliers, and outside by

[1] Coyer, *Voy.*, cit., p. 27.
[2] Montagu, op. cit., II, 53.

forty-four torches and flambeaux of pitch, which made a brave show, even for those who were not taking part in the ceremony but were merely spectators from the water." [1]

In January, 1767, Charles Eugene, Duke of Würtemberg, arrived in Venice with a large suite. As the *fêtes* in his honour resembled those already described, we prefer to extract from the letters of a factor to the Mocenigo family the following details about his sojourn. "The Prince hired three palaces for himself and his suite. For merely fitting them up he paid the Jew Mandolini three hundred sequins a month. His suite consisted of seventy-five persons; some were gentlemen of birth, some officers, some musicians, and the rest servants. He was reported to have a couple of millions to spend. He brought a present of porcelain to his Excellency Giovanelli, worth sixty thousand florins. Marc Antonio Mocenigo, son of the Doge, as President of the pious foundation of the Mendicanti, gave a magnificent vocal and instrumental concert in the cloisters of the monastery, in honour of the Prince; it began at two o'clock of the night and ended at five, with sumptuous refreshments served during the performance." [2]

In 1769, when the news spread that the Emperor Joseph II was about to honour Venice by his presence, the whole city set to work to prepare an adequate reception. But the Emperor, who was travelling incognito for study and had only a small suite, desired that there should be no public *fêtes* in order that he

[1] Both picture and account are in the Museo Civico (Arch. Gradenigo-Dolfin, Cod. 191). The latter was published per nozze Reali-Canossa, Reali-Lucheschi (Venezia, 1893) by Prof. C. Magno. The brochure is enriched by photographs of the picture and of the portrait of the Elector, probably taken from the enamel and diamond jewel which he gave to the senators attached to his person. One of these is now in possession of Cav. Patella, descendant of Bortolo Cornet, whom the Elector named his consul in Venice.

[2] Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Lett. del fattore Gio. Batt. Francesconi.*

might have leisure to examine the monuments of the city. He lodged at the sign of the *Leon bianco*, in the Palazzo Da Mosto at the SS. Apostoli, and in spite of his incognito he attended two splendid *fêtes* given in the Palazzo Rezzonico at San Barnaba and the Palazzo Tron at Santo Eustachio. In 1775 the Emperor was once more in the lagoons, accompanied by three Archdukes, his brothers; he stayed there eight days, and was present at various public shows, including a regatta.

On May 15, 1782, another illustrious personage, Pope Pius VI, arrived in Venice. The city had celebrated with proper pride the elevation to the papal dignity of two of her sons, Alexander VIII, of the Ottoboni family, in 1689, and Clement XIII, a Rezzonico, in 1758, but since the days of Pope Alexander III no pontiff had visited the lagoons. We can well imagine the honours with which Venice welcomed the head of Christendom. Pius was met by the Doge and Signory near San Giorgio in Alga, and mounting on a gilded barge he was conveyed to the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where he lodged. The following day he received the Doge and Signory, granted audience to many bishops of the Venetian territory, and assisted, along with the Patriarch Giovanelli, at a *Te Deum* sung by the ducal choir and accompanied by a hundred instruments under the baton of the old choir-master, Pasquale Galuppi, who also composed for this occasion *Il ritorno di Tobia*, a cantata for five voices on the words of Gaspare Gozzi, given at the Incurabili in honour, although not in the presence, of the Pontiff, at the expense of the Procurator Lodovico Manin. Pius remained four days in Venice, and before leaving, on May 19, which was Pentecost, he celebrated Mass in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and then passing out into the Campo he imparted his benediction to the crowd from a platform erected for that purpose.[1]

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr. Ven.*, IV, 556.

Among other visitors we may name Leopold, Emperor of Germany, the Queen of Naples, and the Count of Artois. But of all foreign princes the Grand Duke of Russia, Paul Petrovitch, and his wife, Maria Teodorovna (1782), were the most splendidly entertained. It was the first time that a Russian prince had come to the lagoons. The novelty of the visit naturally added to the popular joy; moreover at that moment, Venice, for political reasons, desired to stand well with Russia. As the illustrious guests wished their visit to be private in character, the Doge did not take part in the reception, though nothing was neglected to amuse and delight the noble and unwonted visitors. The Procurator Pesaro and the Savio di Terraferma, Grimani, were charged to go as far as Conegliano to meet the royal guests, who were travelling under the title of Counts of the North. On their way from Mestre to Venice they were followed by a train of sumptuously decorated boats; the Rialto and the fondamenta were swarming with the populace, who applauded their passage. The evening of their arrival at the *Leon bianco* there was a reception given by the nobles at the Casino dei Filarmonici, where the prince and princess were received by about two hundred lacqueys dressed in velvet and gold. They were delighted with the masquerade, and were fascinated by the *brio* of the Venetian ladies presented to them by the Chevalieress Andriana Foscarini. The princess danced the minuet with Pesaro, who represented the Doge, at the ball given in the Teatro San Benedetto. The boxes assigned to the princes were transformed into so many elegant boudoirs decorated in papier-maché, with volutes, and carved and gilded stucco-work. The hall where dancing went on was adorned with festoons of blue silk with silver fringes, the stage with silver bas reliefs and great mirrors from Murano. At a huge table sat eighty ladies, with as many cavaliers behind their chairs. They also gave a concert of a hundred

voices chosen from the various conservatories of the city; the entertainments closed with a regatta and a grand display on the Piazza di San Marco. In the middle was an amphitheatre of one thousand five hundred feet in circumference, with several tiers of steps, above which came the boxes, reaching to the height of the columns of the Procuratie. On one side of San Geminiano was a huge pavilion; at the other extremity, towards San Marco, rose a triumphal arch eighty feet high. The people were excluded from the show, and yet every box was full, and the tiers of steps swarmed with spectators. The subject of the procession was the "Triumph of Peace"; the goddess entered seated on a great car, while Abundance crowned her head with olive and Mars and Bellona lay at rest below her throne. She had sixteen musicians, and her car was preceded by four others, each drawn by eight pure white oxen. Presently some stout and brawny athletes, dressed to represent various nations, led in a bull tied by the horns with two long ropes; the baiting began, and when the show was over the barriers were removed and the mob poured into the midst of the arena, with cries of *Viva San Marco!* [1]

Other great festivities welcomed the arrival of Gustavus III, of Sweden, the sovereign whose liberal tendencies led to his assassination by Ankarström at a ball in the opera house at Stockholm, on March 16, 1792. Nine years before his tragic end King Gustavus, under the name of Count von Haaga, came to Italy, intending to go to the baths of Pisa and then to visit Rome and Naples. On his way he desired to visit the city which, in his own words, *sola preservava l'antica gloria d'Italia.* On May 3, 1784, he entered Venice and took up his lodging at the *Albergo Reale*, in the parish of San Polo,

[1] *Du séjour des Comtes du Nord à Ven. en Janvier, 1782.* Lettres de Mme. la comtesse Douarière des Ursins et Rosenberg, 1782.

on the Grand Canal.[1] The fair of Ascensiontide was going on in the piazza, and among the novelties were some strange birds made in sugar, and fruit and flowers in wax, of a surprising fidelity to nature. The king visited the nobles' clubs at San Benedetto, San Samuele, San Cassiano, and was present at a performance of the *Ademira*, by Lucchesi, given in the theatre at San Benedetto, also at a concert of the Filarmonici. He visited the Ducal Palace, the Basilica, and the Arsenal, and took part in a meeting of the Great Council;. he promenaded the city masked; went to the *fresco* on the Canal, and followed the regatta in a *bissona*.

In honour of the illustrious guest the Pisani family resolved to make a royal display of their magnificence. On the evening of May 5, 1784, the windows of the dark and vast stone pile of Palazzo Pisani at Santo Stefano were a blaze of light. Splendid chandeliers lit the gilded chambers, the library, the picture gallery, the great hall carried on columns and cornices with its broad ceiling decorated by Guarana. The sovereign arrived with his suite about nine o'clock, and was received at the landing by Alvise and Francesco Pisani and eight lacqueys, bearing flambeaux. After the king had made the tour of the apartments in company with the lady of the house, Pisana Mocenigo Pisani, the ball was opened. Then came a sumptuous supper to the guests, who numbered eight hundred. A hundred and sixty men of the civic guard were on duty; the rooms were hung with green velvet and gold fringes and lights; on the royal table was a service of gold plate. On the evening of May 8 the Pisani again gave a reception in their pleasure house on the Giudecca. The broad surface of the Canal reflected the light of lamps and torches. The garden was hung with imitation fruit in crystal, enclosing candles; the chambers

[1] Dalla Santa, *Il Viaggio di Gustavo III, re di Svezia negli Stati Veneti e nella Dominante (per nozze)*. Venezia, 1902.

with a hundred different kinds of flowers. A supper and a concert by the pupils of the Ospedaletto and the Pietà closed the entertainment. These two *fêtes* cost the Pisani 109,740 *lire venete*. After twelve days' sojourn the king, worn out and ill with so much entertainment, but delighted with his reception, took his departure.

The Republic never ceased to celebrate by national *fêtes*, accompanied with religious ceremonies, the striking episodes in her career. To the traditional functions handed down from the remote past and renewed each year religiously, were added two others of particular interest, — the festival of the Redentore, founded at the close of the sixteenth century and developed to its highest point during the last centuries of the Republic, and the festival of the Salute, which dated from the opening of the Seicento. Neither of them commemorated feats of arms; both owed their origin to a vow of the State on being delivered from the ravages of the plague in 1576 and 1630. A bridge of boats was annually thrown across the Grand Canal opposite the church of the Salute, and a similar one across the Giudecca to the Redentore. The Doge and Signory, followed by an immense crowd, visited the votive shrines. The festival of the Redentore, which took place in July, was kept up all night by a joyous and shifting throng who supped on the waters of the Canal or in the gardens of the Giudecca; the lagoon shone with myriads of parti-colored lamps; music and song filled the night air; then at dawn the whole multitude made for the Lido, where from the shore they paid their orisons to the rising sun.

The State took part officially in such celebrations as Corpus Domini, Good Friday, and Easter. The Doge, followed by a long and splendid procession, descended into the piazza; each parish church, too, had its own procession accompanied by nobles and citizens of the

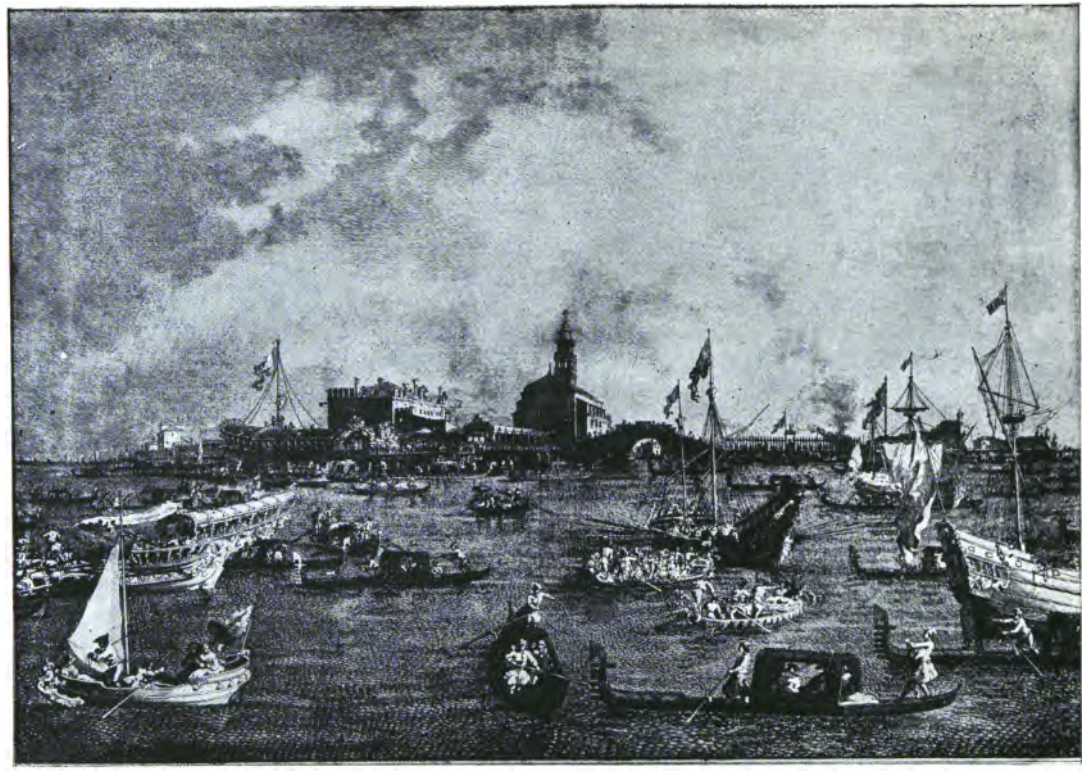
quarter.[1] But of all the national *fêtes* the most magnificent was that of the *Sensa*, or Ascensiontide; it was also the most important from the point of view of trade, for the great fair was a yearly standing proof that the commercial decline of Venice had been powerless to ruin the exquisite grace of Venetian craftsmanship. Down to the year 1688 the shops and booths of the various crafts were scattered about the piazza in picturesque confusion; but in 1776 they were arranged in order under a great elliptical structure of wood, designed by Bernardino Maccarucci and decorated with statuary,[2] also in wood. The fair, to which people of all nationalities flocked, was not merely a source of wealth to the merchant, but also aroused a keen competition among the various crafts. For fifteen days sculptors and painters, silk-mercers and glass-blowers, filled the piazza with their works. The people took a lively interest in the show. A vast crowd, in holiday dress or masked, poured into the square from the narrow streets; shouts of laughter and sallies of wit and badinage crossed and recrossed each other; groups took their stand before the booths, appraising, bargaining, and buying. The people thronged in front of the clock tower awaiting the stroke of each hour, when the doors on either side of the Madonna's throne flew open

[1] Renier-Michiel, *Feste Venez.*, cit., III, 8. Besides attending certain ceremonies in San Marco, the Doge visited San Giorgio Maggiore on Christmas, San Zaccaria on Easter Monday, the church of the Vergini at Castello on May 1st, San Geminiano in the octave of Easter, and so on.

[2] In the Cod. Swayer No. 986 (Museo Civico) we find various regulations, between 1776 and 1778, referring to the *fabbriche della Sensa*. The contractor during those years was Giammaria Monaco, who worked from designs by Maccarucci for the annual sum of 3650 ducats. The following verses used to appear on the arcade:

Archi di legno e colonnami in carta
Idee di Roma e povertà di Sparta.

The symbolical statues in wood, representing Commerce, the Arts, Fortune, etc., gave rise to the following satire: "Commercio in eccidio." "Arti in precipizio," "Ingegno sprezzato," "Splendore oscurato," "Fortuna fuggita," "Richezza ostentata," "Pericolo vicino," "Dominio al confine."



THE Feast of the Ascension; the Bucintoro at S. Niccolò del Lido — from an engraving by Brustolon after Canaletto's painting

and the procession of the Magi, headed by an angel, passed before the Virgin and re-entered by the other door. This complicated piece of mechanism was constructed in 1496 by the Raineri of Reggio, and in 1757 it was renewed by Bartolomeo Ferracina of Bassano,[1] who enjoyed a brief popularity and had the honour of seeing his effigy on an almanac.

But when the Doge went on board the Bucintoro on Ascension Day to complete the ceremony of wedding the sea, then indeed the heart of Venice overflowed in a boundless delight. Galleys, barges, gondolas, gilded boats, sandoloes filled with a throng of the curious, followed the Bucintoro, which was piloted by three arsenal mariners and rowed by sixty-eight arsenal hands. The waters were ploughed by the prow of the golden barge, all resplendent in cloth of gold and brocade silk, while flowers in profusion stood out against the brilliance of the Venetian sky. Music accompanied the procession[2]; the bells of the city rang out, the cannon thundered at intervals, the shops were draped in variegated hangings, carpets and velvets streamed from the windows. Along the canal which led from San Marco to the Lido were ranged the vessels of war and the merchantmen, flying a hundred flags.[3] After hearing Mass at San Niccolò del Lido, his Serenity returned to the city, and in the Banqueting Hall of the

[1] Erizzo, *Rel. stor. crit. della torre dell' orologio.* Venezia, 1860.

[2] During the final years, down to 1796, the last time the Bucintoro went out to wed the sea, it was the custom to sing the following madrigal by Zaccaria Valaresso, set to music by Antonio Lotti in 1736:

Spirto di Dio, ch' essendo il Mondo infante
Tanto sull' onde il piè posar vi piacque,
Fate liete quest' acque,
Dove la vostra fe' più salda e pura
Di pietà e di valor con prove tante
De' secoli nel corso intatta dura:
E stendasi regnante
Da Mare a Mar la Veneta Fortuna
Fin ch' Eclisse fatal tolga la Luna.

[3] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 143.

Palace,[1] surrounded by the Nuncio, the French ambassador, the six Ducal Councillors, and the three chiefs of the Quarantia, he gave a splendid banquet, where the tables were laid out with glass centrepieces from Marano, triumphal arches, castles in wax, and loaded with delicate viands, rare fruits, and sweets.[2] The guests were all in full dress, and the general public, provided they were masked, were admitted to view the beginning of the banquet, though at a certain sign they all left the hall, which was presently filled with music and song for the pleasure of the guests. Spon, who saw the *sposalizio* of 1675, remarks that the Bucintoro was followed by "une quantité de peouques et de gondoles, qui sont les carrosses de Venise; il y en avait jusques à quatre ou cinq mille et cela faisait un très bel effet." Of the Bucintoro he says: "On tient que (cette espèce de galère à deux étages) a coûté cinq cent mille livres . . . En général toute la fabrique de cette magnifique galère est admirable."[3] About fifty years later a new and more splendid barge was built in 1728.[4] The magnificent gilded barge, with its statues, winged lions, tritons, nereids, and satyrs, with its *baldacchini* of silk and velvet, and the great standard of the Republic floating in the breeze, was now little more than the symbol

[1] The Doge's official banquets were given in the Banqueting Hall, constructed in 1620 from designs by Bartolomeo Monopola, and renewed in the following century by Bernardino Maccarucci. In 1735 the four annual banquets cost the Doge 8513 ducats.

[2] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 150.

[3] Spon and Wheler, *Voy.*, cit., pp. 76, 78.

[4] Among the more famous of these barges history records those built in 1520, 1605, and 1728. We have a detailed account of the latter in a rare brochure, printed in 1729, under the following title: "*La nuova Regia | Su l'acque | Nel Bucintoro | Nuovamente erretto | All' annua solenne funzione del giorno dell' Ascenzione di | Nostre Signore | descritta e dedicata | Al Serenissimo Principe | Alvise Mocenigo | Doge di Venezia, da | Antonio Maria Luchini | Cittadino Veneto | Con l'indice dei capi in principio et altro in fine delle cose notabili sopra le figure, ed ogn' altra decorazione d'invenzione dello scultore Antonio Coradino, come anco degli Autori nel presente Libro citati | In Venezia, Appresso Carlo Buonarrigo in Merceria | Con licenza de Superiori e Privilegio.*"

of the ancient glory of Venice, which still made itself apparent down the Adriatic and on those distant shores where the Lion of the Evangelist had once borne his civilising power and the thunder of his arms.

CHAPTER V

STREET LIFE AT VARIOUS SEASONS

THE ordinary daily life of Venice at this period must have resembled the daily round of other Italian cities, though here again we will abstain from drawing comparisons and will confine ourselves to the street life of Venice itself. The little alleys of this singular city were full of movement at every season of the year, and displayed a gaiety which concealed the fact of a rapid industrial and commercial decline. An hour before sunrise the bells rang the *mattutin* and the guards were withdrawn from the Palazzo Ducale and the piazza. At sunrise the great bell of San Marco, the *Marangona*,[1] called the hands to their workshops, the gondoliers to the traghettos, and the porters to their day's labour. Many of the citizens went straight to Mass before going to work. Nor were the women less early risers than the men. All of them heard Mass or said a prayer before the little shrines at the corners of the streets. The victuallers were in their shops half an hour after sunrise, and the merchants had all opened their workhouses[2] half an hour before tierce. Lamberti declares that the patricians as well as the

[1] "Alla mezzanotte suona la marangona; botti 16 in 18 e ciò fassi quando va la guardia nella piazza ad annunciare a chi suona. Nel mattino quando prima spunta l'alba si suona la campana mezza terza, sedici in dieciotto botti nelli giorni feriali; negli altri a tutto doppio; ma nel levar del sole la marangona altrettanti e dopo mezz'ora la mezza terza che va dietro per un' altra mezz'ora continua e dopo un' ora che si sia fermata suona terza con la marangona di venticinque in ventisei botti." Doglioni, *Le cose not. et marav. della città di Ven.*, p. 265. Venezia, 1666. See too *Nomi antichi delle campane di S. Marco* in the *Archivio Veneto*, XXXII, 379.

[2] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 46 et seq.

merchants attended punctually at their offices; so did the government officials, the advocates, and all who had business with them. Office hours were from tierce to one P. M. The morning's business being over, most of the nobles and citizens of means spent the rest of the day in amusements. The Council of Ten, however, and the Inquisitors, who sat daily, remained longer at the Palace. The Senate sat twice a week after Vespers. The Court of Appeal sat till its list was exhausted; cases were heard sometimes after the midday meal and were hence called *post;* advocates' chambers were open till late at night.[1] At sundown the bell called the *Realtina*, rung from San Giovanni di Rialto, was the signal for craftsmen to cease work. Shops shut at nine at night, victuallers and taverners after midnight. Some taverns, however, kept open all night.[2]

The life and movement of the city were at their height when tierce sounded, about eight o'clock in the morning in Summer and ten o'clock in Winter. The greatest bustle of business was at San Marco and Rialto. The shops were incessantly thronged; and, as to-day so then, the display of variegated colours in velvets, brocades, and damask in the mercers' shops caught the eye; or further on, the open doors of a pork butcher let one see the rows on rows of sausages, hams, and candles hanging from the roof, the barrels of salted sardines close by the entrance, the piles of cheeses on shelves round the walls, and the shining weights on the counter. On the quay, beside the mint and the public granaries, the fishmongers set out their stalls and their awnings,[3] while the brawny fishermen of Chioggia, made

[1] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., I, 46 et seq.

[2] Ibid. The *Realtina* rang four hours after sundown at the latest. The day was divided into twenty-four hours and began at six in the evening.

[3] "Le Pescarie di San Marco e di Rialto sono le principali ed altre molte se ne veggono sparse per la città a comodo degli abitanti . . . I pistori (fornai) sono disposti per ogni strada, e i macelli per ogni piazza." Coronelli, *Viaggi*, cit., I, 36.

hardy by battles with the Adriatic gales, their shoulders covered with a great cloak and their heads with a woollen cap, leaned over the sides of their boats; fine men with bronzed faces, deep lines on the low forehead, and small eyes with an expression of strength and determination in their look. At Rialto there was a daily fair. At San Matteo, in the *calle* close to the flesh market established in the ancient house of the Quirini known as the *Stalon*, stood the bakery, consisting of twenty-five shops at the close of the Republic; while on the edge of the Grand Canal was a fish market where the fishmongers stood in long rows, with their fish piled in chests on benches in front of them and protected by awnings and sails. Towards the bridge, near the palace of the Camerlenghi, was the landing-place for the boats that brought fruit and vegetables from the islands of the estuary,—turnips, radishes, cauliflower, apples, peaches, and the whole quay was soon a mass of green stuff, among which the boatmen, dealers, and porters quarrelled and swore. Beyond the Rialto lay the wine boats by the Riva del Vin. The life and movement spread into the neighbouring *campi* of San Giacomo and San Bartolomeo, and flowed by the shops on the Rialto bridge, where stood the merchants, civil, talkative, jovial, on the lookout for customers.

This note of gaiety, this play of voice and gesture, this blaze of colour, characterised the other streets of the city, in its very remotest quarters and even on the wettest and gloomiest days, when the people hurried along wrapped in cloaks of oil cloth.[1] When the weather permitted it, the carpenters, shoemakers, and smiths worked out of doors; fruiterers and victuallers set up their stalls in the streets and on the bridges,

[1] The umbrella had been long in use, but only as a protection against the sun. As a protection against rain it came late into vogue. It is said that the earliest instance was that of Camillo di Astori Cavaliere Gaudente of Bologna in 1560.

SHOPS — from an engraving by Domenico Lovisa

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where the hawkers of all sorts of strange wares added to the life of the picture by their costume and their cries.[1]

The *campi*, which open here and there in the inextricable labyrinth of narrow alleys, were full of the incessant chatter of women and stout Friulan lasses drawing water from the wells, while the gamins raced or played tip-stick,[2] marbles, or ball. Across the *campi* ran rows of clothes hung out to dry, making a bright patch in the sunlight as the wind blew them about; all around were dark shop doorways, full of customers and goods. In some of the larger *campi*, like San Polo, on market days all sorts of articles were spread out on the ground for sale, — cast-off clothes, old linen, kitchen utensils, household goods, remnants of faded brocades, worn-out shawls redyed.

Nor was street life less striking by night. There was but little light except at San Marco and Rialto, where the shopkeepers, about 1719, began to hang out lamps in front of their shops. The darkness of many a *calle* was lit by perhaps a single lamp, the descendant of the ancient *cesèndelo* which used to illuminate the little

[1] Zompini, *Le arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia*. Venezia, 1789. Gaetano Zompini, no mean artist, was a native of Treviso and pupil of the cavaliere Giovanni Bambini; he designed and engraved pictures of the various hawkers' trades in Venice. Each plate has some verses in dialect written by the priest Questini, explaining the picture; there are the *conxa zocoli*, or cobblers; the little savoyards with their marmots (*il marmottina*); the venders of Easter eggs; the Graubündners selling sweets; the *ponta piatti* and *castragatti*, who mended crockery and gelded cats; the *bigolanti*, women from Friuli who carried pails of water on a curved stick across their shoulders; the pie-man; the vinegar-sellers; the huckster; the ink and rat-poison seller; the bird-lime seller; the knife-grinder, and so on. There is another book like Zompini's, called *Le arti ambulanti per la città di Venezia*, described by Achille Bertarelli in the *Bollettino della Società Bibliografica It.* (fascic. January-February, 1907). It was published by Francesco Orlandini, who issued a circular dated Venice, November 1, 1793, in which he announces the plan of the work. The plates were engraved by Ignazio Colombo. Each plate has a quatrain in Venetian dialect. The plates measure 255 × 170 mm.

[2] *Lippa* is also known as *pandòlo*, a game exactly similar to our tip-stick.

shrines scattered here and there about the city. To light the foot passengers who could afford it there was a service of trusty link-boys stationed at fixed spots, who for a fee would accompany the citizen with a little hand lamp. A link-boy was known as a *codega*, possibly from the Greek word ὁδηγός, a guide; one appears in Zompini's collection, and his duties are thus described:

> De note ora ai teatri ora al redutto
> Son quel che col ferral serve de lume
> E pur che i paga mi so andar per tutto.

Street lamps were not introduced till after 1732. Goldoni, who left Venice in darkness at the end of 1732, found, on his return at the close of 1734, that the street lamps were a pleasant and useful innovation,[1] and in 1763 the Abbé Coyer reports that the streets were well lit at night, "ce qui n'est pas commun en Italie."[2] The system of public illumination, which was not, however, applied to all the streets, did not abolish the *codega*, and he and his *confrère* the *impizzaferai*, or

[1] Goldoni, *Mem.*, I, xxxv. Lohener, in his notes to the French edition of the *Memorie*, I, 271 (Venezia, 1883), says that in Benigna's *Cronachetta* we get the following note for November, 1719: "Fu posto li fanali per le mercerie e seguentemente in altri luoghi." Under date November 11, 1721, we have "In Consig. di X fu preso parte di far poner li fanali per tutte le strade correnti della città." It would seem, however, that this step was deferred; for in Stefani's continuation of Litta, under the family of Mocenigo we find the same motion made on May 23, 1732. It is likely that there was a still further delay, and it was only towards the close of September, 1734, that Goldoni saw Venice illuminated for the first time. A special tax was levied by the Senate on May 23, 1732, for the lighting of the city. In 1740, September 29, the Senate resolved that the illumination of the piazza should be intrusted to the *Procuratori de supra;* the lighting of Rialto to the Salt Board, and of the Dogana and public warehouses to the *Magistrato delle Pompe*. In 1755 the number of lamps was one thousand two hundred, but next year it was raised to one thousand four hundred. Finally, on August 10 of that same year, the Senate, in view of the general discontent with a tax which was not equally applied and which, in spite of all efforts, only yielded 45,000 *lire* per annum, removed the special impost and charged the lighting of the town to the exchequer. Malagola, *L'ill. della città di Venezia* (in the *Gazetta di Venezia*, December 30, 1900).

[2] Coyer, *Voy. d'Italie*, cit., p. 17.

(A)

(B)

FROM "Le Arti che vanno per via," etc., by Gaetano Zompini.
A — The Water-carrier. B — The Vender of Fritters

lamp-lighter, continued to work harmoniously side by side.

Personal safety in Venice was better provided for than in other cities of the peninsula. There were the two classes of police, — the *bombardieri*, the bombardiers, corresponding to the modern *gens d'armes*, and the *birri*, or ordinary constables. But the special agent of the Ten, the *Missier Grande*, had much more influence down to the very fall of the Republic, and the mere sight of him was enough to quell a tumult. The last famous officer, Cristofolo Cristofoli, was popularly said to be worth a whole battalion of grenadiers, when he came on the scene with his hooked nose, his long black cloak open in front and with large sleeves, a black jacket, knee breeches, and sash.[1] At his presence a mob would melt away; a riot would cease at the lifting of his hand. On the mainland the case was very different; there the police were recruited from the dregs of the people, and were frequently in accord with the criminal classes, or else so cowardly that a bully or a bravo could easily rout a whole *peverada*, as a posse was termed in slang. The populace of Venice, on the contrary, was docile and obedient, and three policemen were sufficient to keep order when the Piazza di San Marco was thronged for the *fêtes* in honour of the "Counts of the North." A foreign authoress on that occasion remarked that "dans nos pays la police s'exerce à coups de sabre et de fusils"[2]; while De La Lande says: "Ce peuple n'est ni rémuant, ni féroce, mais gai, doux, tranquille et facile à contenir,"[3] and adds, "Quoique la ville soit mal éclairée, on court pendant la nuit sans aucun risque, malgré les masques et l'obscurité." Brawls, however, and night adventures, which

[1] Rossi, *Racc.*, cit., I, 119.

[2] *Du séjour des Comtes du Nord à Venise.* Lettres de la Comtesse des Ursins et Rosenberg, cit.

[3] De La Lande, *Voyage en It.*, Tom. VII, Chap. II.

ended in "a crack over the head but no great harm done," as Goldoni's Pantaloon puts it,[1] were by no means uncommon, though, in a city whose dark and narrow alleys and tortuous canals seemed made for murderous assaults, these were of the rarest occurrence. The Cardinal De Bernis says on this point: "Je n'ai cessé d'admirer que Venise, placée entre dix états différents, sans portes ni murailles, où l'on ne voit jamais ni gardes ni soldats, qui est le receptacle de tous les malfaiteurs des environs, était cependant la ville d'Italie où il y eût le moins d'assassinats et de vols."[2] President Charles de Brosses actually says that there were not four murders a year in Venice,[3] though it is easier to say it than to prove it; and as a fact De Brosses was travelling in Italy during 1739 and 1740, and between the first of March, 1739, and the thirty-first of January, 1740, without counting punishments for brawling, there were published *super scalis Rivoalti* seventeen sentences for serious assaults and murders committed *con scandalo et mal esempio contro le leggi del Signore Iddio e del Principe*[4]; and Antonio Benigna, the chronicler, who from the back of his apothecary's shop kept a note of all that he saw and heard, says that the Council of Ten ordered the head man in each parish to patrol the streets at night with an armed posse to put down the thefts and murders which had become far too common in Carnival time.[5] We must not, however, forget the condition of other Italian cities at this

[1] Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro*, Act III, sc. ix.

[2] *Mémoires et lettres de François Joachim de Pierre, Cardinal de Bernis* (1715–1758), I, 181. Paris, 1878.

[3] De Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie*, Letter XIV. Paris, Didier, 1883. Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., II, 21–22, says: "I furti qualificati, le aggressioni notturne, e gli assassinj, le risse e le uccisioni in confronto della numerosa popolazione di quella città, ed attesa la dolcezza del governo, e il libero accesso dei forestieri d'ogni condizione, e senza alcuna restrizione, di raro accadevano."

[4] Arch. di Stato, *Avogaria del Comun, Raspe*, I, 93.

[5] Benigna, *Memorie*, cit.

date; for example, in the States of the Church, under the pontificate of Clement XIII, which lasted eleven years, twelve thousand murders were committed, of which four thousand took place in Rome itself.[1]

The town life of Venice, in fact, resembled the life of a great family that never left the house; the canals and *calli* were its corridors, the little squares its anterooms, and the larger squares its saloons; one house made love to or quarrelled with its neighbour just as though they were living under a common roof. The *campiello*, as described by Goldoni, was the common ground for work and gossip, where *donna Cate Panchiana* and *donna Pasquina Polegana* fought their battles with *Orsola fritolera* and *Anzoletto marzer;* the girls sat about on the doorsteps with a cat curled up at their feet, and threaded beads or embroidered to the chatter of tongues and lilt of song, while the boys squabbled and fought on the broken pavement. The use of dialect added piquancy to the life of the people and lent a flavour to the dialogue, which was full of native shrewdness and rich in humour. Many of the proverbs and sayings current to-day in the mouth of the people refer to ancient legends, or take their origin from glorious or disastrous episodes of Venetian history, or refer to customs long since passed out of use.[2] A cruel man is called an "Attila." The hatred of the Turk is perpetuated in a hundred phrases still in common use, most of which date back to the seventeenth century; for example, *bezzi in scarsela e guerra al turco*, which expressed the dominant desire of that day. Venetian prowess during the war of Candia is commemorated in the exclamation, *Che legnada che à ciapà i turchi!* But that long-drawn war exhausted the Venetian treasury, hence *essere in Candia* means to be

[1] Cantù, *Storia degli Italiani*, VI, 126. Torino, 1856.

[2] Musatti, C., *Motti popolari Venez.* (in the *Ateneo Veneto*, Tom. I, fasc. 1 and 2, an. 1904).

poverty-stricken. Some of these Venetian proverbs are common to other dialects; others are peculiar to Venice; *esser tra Marco e Todaro*, means to be in a tight place, referring to the fact that criminals were executed between the twin columns of the piazzetta; *ai tempi di Marco Caco* signifies a long time ago, and probably refers to the war with Padua in 1214, when Marco Cócano distinguished himself at the Torre delle Bebbe; *Pagar la sensa* springs from the custom of Venetian lovers, who, at Ascension-tide, were expected to buy a fairing for their sweethearts; the same annual festival also gave rise to the phrase *andar a la sensa*, which means to move about slowly, as the crowd was compelled to do when visiting the fair.[1] The geographical puns and allusions which are to be met with are also purely Venetian in character; they are used to heighten the picturesqueness of a phrase or in an ironical sense; for instance, *vegnir da San Donà de Piave*, which means to have received something as a gift; *vegnir da Mazorbo*, which indicates a short-sighted person, a pun on *mezz' orbo*, half blind, and the *Mazorbo*, the name of the island, like the phrase *andar a Muran*, or *andare al muro*,[2] to take offence. There are other puns, too, on the names of saints; for instance, *devoto de San Basegio* is used of a person fond of kissing; *devoto de San Macario*, of one who lives on his wits or scot-free (*a maca*). We also find puns on family names, a man of laconic speech being called *de cà Muti*, or of the Mute family, a Bergamasque family; a man whose wife was faithless was said to belong to *cà Corner*.[3] The respect due to the patriciate was lost, and almost every noble had a nickname, taken either from the district where he lived, or

[1] Musatti, *Motti popolari*, cit.

[2] Moschetti, *I Bisticci geografici nel dial. Ven.* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, VII, 157 et seq. an. 1894).

[3] Musatti, C., *Dal vocabolario Veneto di C. Goldoni* (*Ateneo Veneto*, Jan., Feb., 1906).

alluding to some moral or physical defect or quality or to some special event in his career.[1]

But this wit, which takes a pungent and mordant note in the frequently anonymous satirists, on the lips of the people assumes a loose and even vulgar form, which, however, is seldom venomous. The women in the *calli* quarrel, and the air is full of the scathing abuse; but anger soon dies down, and peace is quickly restored. The gondoliers on the canal are prone to brawling, but blood seldom flows; from boat to boat fly the most outrageous insults in broadest dialect, oars are raised as if to strike, but it all ends in a cuff or a black eye or a ducking, and each person resumes his way, though the broadside of oaths and imprecations and blasphemies against the Court of Heaven is

[1] A manuscript of the seventeenth century (Bibl. Marc. Cl. VII, It., Cod. MDXXXI) has for title *Distinzioni che corrono tra le casate Nobili di Venezia.* It contains the following list of *sopranomi apposti ad alcuni, o individui, o Case de Nobili, per vizj o per altre cose accidentali.* Balbi, *Osetta;* Balbi, *Ninfetta;* Barbarigo, *dalla Terrazza* and *Baranello;* Barbaro, *Aquario;* Barbaro, *Inchiostro;* Barbaro, *Paganello;* Bembo, *Pilato;* Bernardo, *Occhialon;* Bolani, *Sculazzon;* Bragadin, *Scortegai;* Bragadin, *Negrizia;* Canal, *Zanco;* Cappello, *Colosso;* Cappello, *Totano;* Contarini, *Porte di Ferro;* Contarini, *Collo Storto;* Contarini, *Imperial;* Contarini, *Ronzinetto;* Contarini, *Sponza;* Contarini, *Bacolo;* Contarini, *Fisolo;* Contarini, *Dal Zaffo;* Contarini, *Campanella;* Contarini, *Fasan;* Corner, *Della Regina;* Corner, *Taceo;* Corner, *Squaquera;* Corner, *Dalla Cà Grande;* Corner, *Pampalugo;* Dolfin, *Culata;* Dolfin, *Careghette;* Donà, *Dalle Toreselle;* Donà, *Cailetto;* Donà, *Califronia;* Donà, *Tamburin;* Donà, *Dai Risi;* Donà, *Simiotti;* Foscarini, *Dal Pozzo;* Grimani, *Pazzarello;* Grimani, *Spago;* Grimani, *Caleri;* Grimani, *Bregonzi;* Grimani, *Semo;* Grimani, *Dall' Albero d'Oro;* Gritti, *Mona;* Loredan, *Campanon;* Loredan, *Concetti;* Loredani, *Rossi;* Marcello, *Dai Cani;* Mocenigo, *Dalle Perle;* Mocenigo, *Cappon;* Molini, *Faciol da fia;* Morosini, *Pelai;* Morosini, *Dal Zardin;* Morosini, *Sguardolin;* Morosini, *Bell' occhio;* Morosini, *Gallo;* Morosini, *Barbon;* Morosini, *Franzon;* Pasqualigo, *Filosofo;* Pisani, *Turco;* Pisani, *Flemma;* Pisani, *Moretta;* Pisani, *Dal Banco;* Pisani, *Merda;* Priuli, *Pota balorda;* Priuli, *Tagliabrazzi;* Priuli, *Scarpon;* Priuli, *Calderiola;* Priuli, *Pachiugo;* Priuli, *Pomo;* Querini, *Dai Perseghi;* Querini, *Dalle Pappozze;* Querini, *Bochia;* Querini, *Stampalia;* Querini, *Fiocco;* Sagredo, *Schilato;* Soranzo, *Tocco d'Oro;* Soranzo, *Tossego;* Valier, *Puina;* Vendramin, *Cucuchia;* Venier, *Scarpion;* Zen, *Mona;* Zorzi, *Spaca;* Zorzi, *Salt' il fosso;* Zustinian, *Dai Vescovi;* Zustinian, *Buelle d'Oro;* Zustinian, *Cavallo.*

kept up till both are out of earshot. Not even the establishment of a special police *contro la bestemmia* availed to cure the boatmen of this pernicious habit.[1] But these quarrels were wont to end in the evening over a glass of wine, and the gondolier Menego Cainello in Goldoni's *Puta onorata* sums it all up when he says, "Co' semo in pope, nemici; co' semo in tera, amiçi e fradei carnali"; the next day they would all be back quietly at their work, either at the palace of some patrician or at the traghetto, where a whole world of boatmen and passengers kept up a scene of lively and characteristic movement.[2]

The gentle manners of the Venetian people were evident in every department of daily life, even down to the greetings in the street. The very nobles in the Seicento, the period of greatest hauteur, were wont to salute courteously by raising their cap with the left hand and laying the right on the heart.[3] The populace was always obsequious, especially towards patricians

[1] The penalties for blasphemy were exceptionally severe. For instance, Benigna in his Memoirs writes, under June 28, 1724: "A certain Bertelli for having used foul oaths was placed in the pillory and had his tongue cut out."

[2] The gondoliers of each traghetto formed a corporation (*fraglia*), with a warden (*gastaldo*) at their head. Most of the traghettos had a shrine with the image of a saint before which a light was always burning, and the *ogio della Madonna* was the first charge on each day's earnings. Some traghetti owned a handsome lantern on the top of a pole, and bas-reliefs and inscriptions. The Museo Civico now possesses the handsome bas-relief of the fifteenth century that once was at the traghetto of the Maddalena, and the tablet at the traghetto of San Geremia, with a gondola carved on it and the following inscription: "In tempo de Ciprian da Ceneda Gast . . . Anzolo Panzato, Andrea Padoan Compagni MDLXVIIII." The traghetto of San Felice still possesses a statue, known among the people as Emanuel Spinara; it stands on a gothic column which bears the date 1544. At the old traghetto of the ponte della Paglia there is a niche containing the Virgin and Child with this inscription: "Del traghetto del ponte della Paglia sotto S. Giulio d. Alvise da Portia Gast. et S. Mathio et S. Stefano Compagni," and between two gondolas, the date MDLXXIII. At the bridge of the Fontego di Santa Giustina is a shrine, a tablet with gondolas, and the inscription "Franº Bergama, Gastal. Zuane Malpratico Francesco Sardella Compagni MDCXXI."

[3] Payen, *Les Voyages*, cit., p. 192.

and foreigners, and to every question addressed to them would never answer brusquely "Yes," but always "At your service"; though this humility of expression implied not so much servility as an inborn courtesy of feeling.[1] It is true, however, that at Venice no less than elsewhere in Italy, the pompous Spanish fashion in speech and deportment induced an excess of ceremony and convention, not merely among the nobles, but also among the citizens and merchants, who always addressed each other as "lustrissimo."[2]

Illustrissimo è il notaro
Illustrissimo è il causidico,
A finirla, per pochissimo
Che si cerca e che si brancola
Si ritrova l'illustrisimo,
Galeggiar fin sulla záncola.[3]

So sang the satirist, Carlo Dotti,[4] towards the close of the Seicento, and he is confirmed by another writer of the following century, who says: "In Italia la mercanzia de' titoli in due secoli ha fatto sì gran progressi quanto sono andate in declinazione le facoltà, le richezze e le discipline morali. . . . Ho sentito in Italia scialacquare sì fattamente *l'Illustrissimo* fra mercanti e bottegai e fra ogni sorta di persone, purchè avessero un bel vestito e fossero un po' distinti dalli Facchini, che nauseate le persone nobili, non vogliano più questi titoli sì vilipesi."[5]

[1] De La Lande, *Voy. en Italie*, cit., VII, 87.

[2] All the same, ceremony in Venice was never allowed to degenerate into ridiculous etiquette. As early as the close of the sixteenth century a resolution was passed forbidding the use of *umilissimo* on the one hand, and of *preclarissimo*, *illustrissimo*, *eccellentissimo* on the other; the sole address was to be *messere*, or at the most *magnifico messere*. Romanin, *St.*, cit., III, 71.

[3] Dotti, *Satire* (*I Vajoli*), Part II, p. 139. Ginevra, 1807. *Zángola* means a night stool.

[4] He was born at Brescia about 1651, but lived a long time in Venice. Levi, Erc., *Un poeta satirico* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*), XII, 1.

[5] Lettere critiche, giocose, morali, scientifiche ed erudite del conte Agostino Santo Pupieni o sia dell' Avv. Giuseppe Antonio Costantini, I, 1 and 2. Venezia, 1794. Costantini pretends to write from various towns of Italy and abroad; but his information is most interesting about Venice.

of Zara, Tolomais, and Constantinople now thought it heroism enough to carry off a flag in a regatta or to win a prize at the *forze d'Ercole*. The burning rivalry between Nicolotti and Castellani had dwindled now to mere altercations, in which even women would take a part, and sometimes wore on their dresses a symbol of their faction.[1] We catch an echo of these rivalries preserved in popular song:

Se nasse un Nicoloto, nasse un Dio,
Se nasse un Castellan, nasse un bandìo,
Se nasse un Nicoloto, nasse un conte,
Se nasse un Castellan, l'è un pianta-forche;

to which the Castellani reply:

Se nasse un Castelan, nasse un castelo,
Se nasse un Nicoloto, l'è un bordelo,
Se nasse un Castelan, quà nasse un Dio,
Se nasse un Nicoloto, l'è bandìo.[2]

The usual subject of Venetian popular songs is love, and they often bear a striking resemblance to the national songs of other Italian cities, though the softness of the Venetian dialect makes them more languorous. Venice was rocked to rest between music and song. "Si canta per le piazze, per le strade, nei canali," says Goldoni, "cantano i mercanti smerciando le loro mercanzie; cantano gli operai nell' escire dai loro lavori; canta il gondoliere aspettando il suo padrone"[3]; and President De Brosses declares that "L'affollement de la nation pour la musique est inconcevable." In fact, the musical sense in Venice had always been very acute; but gradually the chant which had welcomed back Venetian galleys from distant campaigns, which had refreshed the brief leisure of magistrate and soldier, which had accompanied the united prayers of the nation

[1] The women of the Castellani wore a flower on one side of the breast, the Nicolotti women on the other. Leti, Greg., *Italia regnante*, I, 219. Geneva, 1675.

[2] Quoted from Angelo dal Medico's *Raccolta* (Venezia, 1848).

[3] Goldoni, *Mem.*, Part I, cap. XXXV.

assembled in church, assumed the languid and effeminate expression which characterised the sentiments of the day,[1] and the people themselves, whose vigour was lost in the sweet but enervating atmosphere of sound, came to declare in popular poetry their passion for their favourite pleasure.

Quando sento una che canta
Se me mete el cuor in moto;
No gh'è caso la me incanta,
Cascarìa come un merloto.

No ghe penso de beleze,
No ghe abado a le richeze,
Savé ben che mi me basta
Che la sapia ben cantar.

Lasserìa da banda i chiassi:
No me importa de sti spassi;
Savé ben che mi me basta
Che la sapia sol cantar.[2]

The song of the gondoliers sounded sweet, especially when from one side to the other of a canal they would chant the stanzas of the "Gerusalemme," or traghetto would answer traghetto through the night. A French traveller in 1763 says: "Les gondoliers et le peuple sur les quais chantent par couplets alternatifs les beaux vers de l'Arioste et du Tasse comme on chantait ceux d'Homère à Athènes."[3] Goethe remarked that the women, especially those of Malamocco and Pelestrina, used to sing Tasso with the same intonation as the gondoliers, though he adds that this habit had become very rare, and remained more as a tradition from old times.[4] All the same, two years later, in 1788, another foreigner tells us that he made a gondolier sing to him one evening the flight of Erminia, and leaves us the names of some of the singers at the traghetti: "Grâces

[1] Malamani, *Il Settecento. La Musa populare*, Vol. II, Pref., p. 9. Torino, 1892.
[2] Ibid., p. 310.
[3] Coyer, *Voy.*, cit., p. 21. See too Beckford, *Italy*, p. 12. Paris, 1835.
[4] Goethe, *Werke*, cit. (*Italiänische Reise*), XIX, 60 et seq.

vous soient rendues, honnête et brave gondolier; puissent les voyageurs vous demander, vous préférer, vous payer du plaisir que vous m'avez donné, le partager avec moi. Faites leurs entendre Marco Nazeto, Madanimo Morelato, Antonio Mortello, Tita Sacco, et surtout le vieux Ancila, les plus célèbres troubadours ou rapsodes de Venise." [1] Besides these songs of the gondoliers there were also the witty buffoons and mountebanks, who, especially in the piazza and on the Riva degli Schiavoni, used to amuse the people with their quips and antics and songs, like the famous *Moro di Piazza*,[2] or the old *cantastorie* (*cupìdi*), who to an audience of gondoliers, sailors, and porters used to recite in prose and verse the prowess of the Reali di Francia, of Guerrino il Meschino, of Charlemagne and Orlando.[3]

The people also had their poets, and during the Seicento hundreds of popular songs set to the guitar by writers like Paolo Britti, called the Cieco di Venezia, were sold in the streets. In the following century Giovanni Sibillato, born of poor parents in Noventa del Vicentino, acquired a high reputation, first as a gondolier and then as courier to the Board of Health. He passed his leisure hours in singing to the guitar songs of his own composing, and was in request not merely among the people but also in the palaces of the patricians. In August of 1743, on the feast of San Gaetano, patron of the parish of the Tolentini where the nobleman Antonio Condulmèr dwelt, the reigning

[1] Cambry, *Voy. pittor. en Suisse et en It.*, in D'Ancona's bibliographical notes to the *Viaggio del Montaigne*, p. 685.

[2] Gaspare Gozzi, writing in the *Osservatore* (*Opere*, III, 241. Padova, 1819), has left us some sparkling pages on the *Moro di Piazza*, who always gathered a crowd about him, and at the first touch of the cembalo you would see windows flung open on all sides, and all about would run a ripple of laughter. The last of these was *Sior Tonin Bonagrazia*.

[3] The *Cantastorie* were Chioggians for the most part, and were called *cupìdi*. See Fusinato, *Un cantastorie chioggioto* in the *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, No. 9.

family of Modena was invited to watch the *Sagra* from the windows of his palace. The house and gardens were illuminated, and further to mark the occasion, Sibillato was called on to improvise. He acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the Duke by extemporising an ode in the praise of the House of Modena. This was followed by some verses which he composed on the spot addressed to the Procuratessa Foscarini dei Carmini, one of the ladies present at the festival.[1] Another poet of the people, Antonio Bianchi, *servitor di gondola* to the Doge Grimani, posed as a poet in the grand style. He produced both heroic and comic poems, but only aroused a suspicion that they were not the work of his own pen.[2]

The genuine fount of popular poetry was fed by the singular conditions of the city itself and the intimate union between it and its inhabitants. The crowds that went about the streets and canals, in truth, all seemed to belong to one great family. The drawing-room for one and all was the Piazza di San Marco, which always seemed adorned for a *fête*, thanks to the great crimson banners with their golden lions that floated daily from the flagstaffs rising from Leopardi's pedestals. In the Seicento the populace in the piazza produced this effect on a stranger: "J'avoue que je ne vis jamais de gens bien-faits ni si sérieux que j'en vis en une promenade que je fis sur la place de Saint Marc"; the patricians appear "beaux, propres et fort sérieux."[3] At this epoch, that is to say, after the middle of the seventeenth century, another Frenchman finds the Venetian ladies "pompeuses et magnifiques dans leurs

[1] Zanetti, Gir., *Mem.*, cit.

[2] It was believed that under the name of the gondolier Bianchi were hidden more distinguished personages, including the Doge himself. Cicogna (*Iscr.*, V, 203) denies this, though he admits that some gentlemen of culture, like Menessali, Girolamo Zanetti, and Grimani probably polished Bianchi's verses for him.

[3] Lassels, *Voyage d'Ital.*, cit., II, 264, 265.

habits . . . qui ne leur donnent pas un petit éclat."[1] About a century later that pomp and gravity of deportment which was in the air of the Seicento had given place to the gaiety and frivolity of the true Italian temperament, mingled with the lightheartedness of the French, and it was no uncommon thing to see patrician ladies on the Piazza in slippers, corset, and high-kilted petticoats,[2] a seductive costume which must have caused some anxiety to the sumptuary magistrates. The Piazza di San Marco and the Riva degli Schiavoni certainly offered a varied and lively spectacle with the numberless types of nationality, costume, and social grades. The air was full of strange tongues, and above them all rose the harmonious dialect of Venice. The doctor hurrying to the bedside of a patient, the artisan on his way to the arsenal or the workshop, the gondolier making for his traghetto, passed in the crowd the Armenian selling galengale roots (*bagigi*), the Turk with a huge turban, the Albanian in baggy breeches, the Jew in his long gabardine. The noble, on his way to the Council Chamber, replied by a wave of the hand and an *adio caro vechio* to the respectful salute of the *tabarro*[3] hurrying by about his business. President De Brosses describes the square as alive with a joyous, noisy crowd, and brings before us "les robes

[1] Grangier de Liverdis, *Journal d'un voy. de France et d'It.* (1660–1661). Paris, 1667.

[2] Ballarini, *Lettere*, MSS. at the Museo Civico, Tom. I, May, 1771. Ballarini, agent to Andrea Dolfin, ambassador at Paris and Vienna, kept his master informed of all that was going on in Venice. This correspondence is malignant in tone, and gives a false idea of the times. To place confidence in him would lead to an erroneous conception of the state of Venice. Ballarini frequently invents stories merely to please his employer. Nevertheless, by carefully sifting the true from the false, we become possessed of much curious information without going the length of holding these letters to be *scritture autorevolissimi e di grande importanza*, as Mutinelli is pleased to call them. See Molmenti, *Studi e Ricerche di Storia e d'Arte* (*Un maldicente*). Torino, 1892.

[3] *Tabarro*, or cloak, came to mean the citizen, just as *toga* meant the patrician.

de palais, les robes de chambre, les Turcs, les Grecs, les Levantines de toute espèce, hommes et femmes, les tréteaux de vendeurs d'orvietan, les moines qui prêchent et les marionettes." At the hour of the *Liston*[1] there was a lively exchange of salutes, smiles, glances, kissing of the hand. The powdered dames and their spruce cavaliers promenaded up and down to a rustle of silk and a murmur of voices and of laughter; here, under an arch of Saint Mark's façade, would be woven the threads of an intrigue; over there by Sansovino's Loggetta the latest scandal would be set a going; further down, towards the Quay, a gondolier in the service of the Signory, with red velvet cloak trimmed with gold and an Albanian cap, would be following a Titianesque woman of the people from Castello. Groups of loungers gathered round the shops at the foot of the Campanile, melted away and gathered again about the stages of the comedians, the jugglers, the mountebanks, the astrologers, who would presently move on to the other squares and populous ways of the city. The sellers of biscuits, beignets, oranges, galingale, were to be found everywhere, while the beggars who mingled in the crowd never missed the charitable hand to drop a copper in the open palm.

But sometimes this throng of people bent on amusement would be called on to contemplate a horrible spectacle. The piazzetta was the place where criminals met their doom,[2] where malefactors stood in the pillory, where the corpses of the drowned were exposed for

[1] This promenade of the *Liston* used to take place in the Campo San Stefano; for greater convenience it was transferred to the piazza. See Galeno Bellorato (Angelo Bottarello), *Breve descrittione di Ven.* Venezia, 1718. Also G. Gozzi, *Sul passeggiare in piazza*, op. cit., XI, 358.

[2] The condemned were accompanied to execution by the Brothers of Santa Maria della Giustizia (see Part II, Vol. I, p. 36, of this work). The Scuola of the confraternity, called by the people *dei picai*, had its hall at San Fantin, near the house of the sisters Vidoni, two well-known courtesans. A lawsuit arose between the Vidoni and the Guild, and on the day when

identification.[1] There was no pity for the victims in the pillory, who were exposed to insults and derision from the mob; while an execution sent a thrill of terror, but not of compassion, through the crowd, which always respected the sentence of the government. The drowned, however, touched a cord of commiseration for their cruel fate, and after being exposed in the piazzetta they were accompanied to the tomb by the Brotherhood of Christ.[2] When the sad procession had passed, the square resumed its wonted animation.

On festivals and holidays the city wore a still more lively air. The government had always been careful to check excessive labour and to regulate those industries injurious to age or sex, and in that spirit it imposed holiday closing, though with due regard to the convenience of the citizens; thus, for the benefit especially of the poor, the doors of the apothecaries, pork-butchers, poulterers, oil-merchants, bakers, fruiterers, wine-shops, coffee-houses, and corn-chandlers were allowed to stand open.[3] From earliest dawn men and women of the people and of the middle class, dressed in their best, were to be seen hurrying to church; after church they gathered in noisy, laughing, chaffing groups in the squares. Sour looks and boredom were unknown, and the open air was a perpetual holiday the whole year round. Not even when the disasters of the war

the case was being heard the walls of the city were covered with the following epigram:

Gran sussuro, gran schiamazo
Xe sta fato ancuo a Palazo,
Tra la scola dei Picai
E la casa dei Pecai.

[1] The phrase *Povero negà alla Piazzetta* is still in use to indicate one who undertakes something which must turn out ill.

[2] The hall of this confraternity was constructed in 1644 behind the church of San Marcuola (Martinioni, *Aggiunte alla Venetia del Sansovino*, p. 145). The chapter chamber still contains a rude picture representing the brothers accompanying a drowned corpse from the piazzetta.

[3] Sagredo, *Sulle consorterie delle Arti edificat.*, cit., p. 186.

of Candia were upon her did Venice abandon her wonted gaiety. A satirist at the close of the Seicento wrote thus:

> Anco in questi anni balordi
> Non v'è giorno, ora, nè punti
> Che non sianvi dei bagordi.[1]

The greatest luxury and the height of hilarity were reached in winter, especially at Carnival time; and during the last two centuries of the Republic the Carnival touched such a point of frenzy that its memory remains to this day. Carnival began on St. Stephen's Day, December twenty-sixth, and the permission to wear the mask was officially announced on the piazza by a government officer in grotesque garb, who was received by the populace with cries and shouts of joy. From that day onward the mask, and especially the *bauta*,[2] was universally worn throughout Carnival time; it was also permitted from October fifth to December sixteenth, on the feasts of San Marco and Ascension Day, at the election of a Doge or a Procurator and on other holidays, provided they did not fall in Lent. Young and old, noble and plebeian, rich and poor, all indiscriminately donned the mask, under cover of which they carried on their intrigues, and which was, so to speak, a symbol of the lost equality of all Venetian citizens, every rank of life fraternising behind the quaint and bizarre disguises; "there were masqueraders," says Costantini, "in dresses, laces, and

[1] "Not even in these years of terror passes a single day or hour or minute without its revels." Dotti, *Satire*, cit., I, 157.

[2] The *bauta*, the favourite mask of the Venetians, was a mantle of silk or velvet with a hood on the top of which was placed a hat with either two or three corners; the face was covered with a half mask of silk or velvet either black or white. The Abbé Coyer (*Voy.*, cit., p. 18) says: "l'habit de masque, qu'on porte jour et nuit, n'est autre chose qu'un tabaro avec la *bahute* (mantelet de gaze), et un chapeau, le tout en noir; cet uniforme, qui n'a rien de rejouissant pour les yeux, est fort commode pour la liberté qu'il donne; il confond les états et les sexes; il n'est pas jusqu'aux Moines et aux Religieuses, dit on, qui ne s'en affublent quelquefois, pour partager les plaisirs publics."

embroidery worth hundreds of doubloons, and every one of them looked like a lady of the highest rank."[1] Many mothers in masks might be seen with their babes in their arms; many a maidservant,[2] when out shopping, would wear the mask; many a beggar with a mask over his face and his ragged cloak, called a *bernardone*, would feign to be maimed, and supported on crutches would solicit an alms. Each evening there was the *liston*, or promenade, in the piazza, crowded with masqueraders, whose gaiety and wit diverted the ladies and gentlemen seated under the porticoes of the Procuratie,[3] while at the further end, by the sockets of the three standards and in the darker corners, was the rendezvous of harlots, pimps, and pathics.[4]

[1] Costantini, *Lettere*, cit., I, 169.

[2] Saint-Didier, *La ville et la Rép. de Venise*, cit., p. 342. Dotti, *Satire*, Part I, p. 118, writes:

Di velluto una visiera
Han le donne quasi tutte,
Sagacissima ingegnera
Di far belle anco le brutte.

[3] Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, cit., I, 379. Bellorato, op. cit.

[4] Many writers of this date give obscene details as to the night haunts of the piazza. But at that time shameless vice was common in other countries, and some accounts of Venetian manners are exaggerated and malicious. For example, Pietro Giannone shows an excessive bitterness when he writes that "during the period of the mask, which embraces half the year, and especially at Carnival time, in the squares and on the public streets, women of every condition, married, maid, or widow, mingle freely with professional harlots, for the mask levels all distinctions; and there is no filth they do not practise, publicly, with their paramours, young or old." He goes on to give other particulars which the pen refuses to write. We must remember, however, that Giannone had been expelled from Venice, and, as his careful biographer remarks, his account was written in a moment of rage. See Nicolini, *Vita di Pietro Giannone scritta da lui medessimo*, note, p. 287. Napoli, 1905. Goudar, too, in the *Espion chinois*, already quoted (Vol. II, letter 74), writes with his usual malevolence: "En entrant dans cette ville, on respire un air de volupté, dangereux pour les mœurs. Tout est spectacles, plaisirs et divertissements frivoles. . . . Dans les autres États de l'Europe, la folie du Carneval ne dure que quelques jours: ici on a le privilége d'extravaguer six mois de l'année. La République en donne la permission, et avec elle le privilége du déguisement: ce qui est assez bien imaginé pour que les peuples puissent se livrer à leurs vices sans aucune honte."

The Carnivals were rendered still more picturesque by the set masquerades which, in the seventeenth century, came to be very magnificent. Patricians and citizens joined together in bands, and donning the most fantastic and sumptuous attire would thread the city to the sound of song and dance around the triumphal car, which bore symbolical representations. Among the many famous masquerades was that of 1669, representing proverbs or charades; and the show of 1679, when a band of youths on horseback, dressed as Negroes, Indians, Turks, and Tartars, after fighting and slaying three monsters, dismounted and joined in a dance in which the Duke of Mantua took part.[1]

A Frenchman writing about 1750 says of the Carnival: "Tout est yvresse et folie, les Venitiens prennent un nouvel esprit en changeant d'habit, et ne conservent rien de leur gravité, de leur réserve ou de leur façon d'agir originaire."[2] On Maundy Thursday the people, in the presence of the Doge, the Signory, and the ambassadors, gave themselves up to the maddest folly. Fireworks were let off in broad daylight in the piazza; the members of the Smiths' and Butchers' Guilds, dressed out in fantastic attire, decapitated a bull; the Castellani and Nicolotti executed the *Forze d'Ercole* and the *Moresca;* from the top of the Campanile a man attached to a rope performed the famous *volo*, flying down to the Doge's box and presenting a bouquet to his Serenity. The maskers passed in noisy groups, throwing confetti; *Mattacino*, in white with red lacing and red shoes, and hat with feathers, did not abandon his traditional diversion of flinging eggs full of scented waters. *Pantalone*, descendant of the *Magnifico*, king of the Carnival, with his red waistcoat and black cloak, offered advice with malicious good humour, while *Brighella*, the

[1] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, cit., I, 164.

[2] [Malhows], *Voy. en France, en Italie*, etc., cit., II, 215.

ancient *Zanni*, in his wide hose with green border, made jokes of every description. *Dottor Graziano* and *Dottor Balanzon*, dressed in black, like university professors and lawyers, blurted out their ridiculous opinions in a tone of authority. *Arlecchino*, the lively mask from Bergamo, with his face covered with pitch, his suit of party-coloured rags, his old hat with its hare's fud, whispered a loose jest in the ear of a girl in *bauta*, who laughed and escaped in the crowd.[1] "Chacun remplit à merveille le rôle qu'il a choisi," says our French traveller again. "Si vous parlez à un Arlequin, vous le trouverez aussi évaporé qu'un Français et aussi polisson qu'un Irlandais; le Jurisconsulte a un ton de dispute, et le Médecin a l'air pédant."[2] The crowd would part to give room to a company of masqueraders dressed as nymphs and shepherds, or *calabresi* playing on pipes, or devils filling the air with shrill cries, or coachmen cracking their whips, or men dressed like women of the people, or Chioggians[3] whose talk was full of quips

[1] A manuscript of the eighteenth century, in the Museo Civico, gives us a list of the various masks, "Da serva di Monache con certo de buzzoladi; da Pescador con Canestro di Pesce; da Turco con pipa e scetro; da Gnaga con Putto, o Cane, o Gatto, fasciati; da Buranello; da Tracagna; da Brighella; da Dottor; da Coviello; da Avvocato; da Scoacamini; da Pulcinella con piatto de Macaroni; da Giangurgolo; da Corrier con carretto e scuria; da Barcariol; da Lacchè; da Scaletter; da Fiorer; da Spagnolo; da Tedesco con Zerla; da Strazzarol; da Ebreo piangendo Carnovale; con bauta, tabarro, bareton, etc.; con zendale nero e moretta di veluto, e fazziol in testa; da Diavolo con vescica in mano; da Cacciator con uccelli e finto schioppo; da Vecchio tremante e gottoso; da Infermo gallico; con veste o çenda nero legato a cornetti sopra la testa; da Becher; da Armeno vendendo bagigi; da Satiro; da Ortolano; da Contadina Furlana; da Pierò; da Conzacareghe; da Mattaccino; da Re; da Medico; da Carboner; da Furlano venditore aghi, forfe e sculieri; con finto cavallo girando la piazza velocemente di galoppo; con sgrugno ed orecchie di asino sopra la testa; da venditor di sabbion; da venditor di rabbia per li sorzi; da venditor merli da Chioza; da Astrologo; da Scoazzer; da chi mostra la Marmotina; da Venditor di Polenta; con vesti di patrizio da inverno; da Marinaro Piranese; da Amazzoni; da Moro; da Gobbo; da Assassino da strada; da Soldato con esercizio a fuoco vivo; con abito di soldini di rame; da Orso incatenato e ballante."

[2] [Malhows], *Voy.*, cit., II, 217.

[3] The famous masquerade of the Chioggiotti began in 1791.

and jokes in the curious sing-song of Chioggian dialect with its long-drawn reduplicated vowels.

In the piazzetta, on the quay, along the Riva degli Schiavoni a hundred other pastimes: the lotteries for fancy ware, the puppet show,[1] the rope-walkers, acrobats, panoramas, fortune-tellers, selling cabalistic literature, story-tellers, *improvisatori* singing to the guitar, the mandolin, or violin,[2] sellers of scented waters and cosmetics; the quacks, among them the famous Masgumieri, who professed to cure all diseases and

> dispensava a macco
> Sopra il balsamo greco il taccomacco.[3]

Still greater interest was roused by the wild-beast shows, and in the Carnival of 1751 the populace was diverted by the exhibition of a rhinoceros, the first ever seen in Venice; the strange animal had a medal[4] struck in its honour and was painted by Pietro Longhi.[5] A novel and even more remarkable spectacle

[1] The puppet show was always a great favourite with the Venetian populace. It first appeared in the Seicento, at which period the puppets Gambacorta, Paglialonga, and Borgogna were famous.

[2] *Riforma del Carnevale*, a Japanese romance. Venezia, Graziosi, sæc. 18.

[3] Gozzi, Carlo, *Marfisa Bizzarra*, Canto IX, stanza 63.

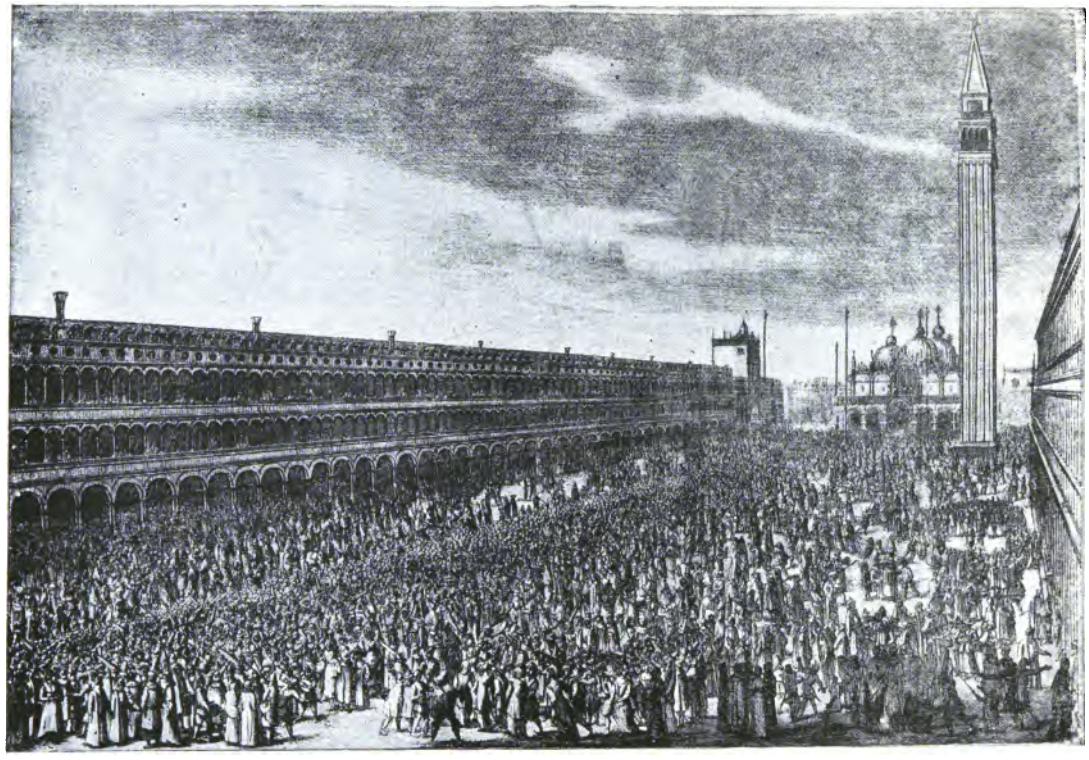
[4] The medal was of copper covered with tin; it measures 40 mm. in diameter, and represents a rhinoceros in the desert under a blazing sun. It bears the name of the place where it was cast, Nurnberg, and of its author, Vierney. The reverse has the following inscription: "Questo — rinoceroto — fu trasportato — d'Asia in Europa nell' — anno 1741 dal Capitano — Davide Montvandermeer — Il medemo animale è stato pesato a Stutgardo nel — Wirtembergo li 6 Maggio — 1748, e pesava allora cinque — mila libre. Mangia ogni — giorno sessanta libre — di fieno, vinti libre — di pane, e beve — quattordici — secchie — d'acqua." Baletti, *Medagliere veneto* (in the *Rassegna d'arte*. Milano, September, 1903).

[5] Grevembroch, in his oft-quoted work, has a coloured drawing of the beast, and in the description of it occurs the statement that in the fourteenth century, during the reign of Andrea Dandolo, another rhinoceros was brought to Venice. Longhi's picture was once in the Palazzo Pisani at Santo Stefano, and is now in the Museo Civico. The following inscription may be read in one corner: "Vero ritrato | de un rinoceronte | condotto in Venezia nel 1751 | fatto da Pietro Longhi | pel N. O. Giovanni Grimani de' Servi | Patrizio Veneto." There is a replica in the National Gallery in London.

has been handed down to us by another artist, Guardi, who has painted one of his charming canvases representing the ascension of a balloon opposite the piazzetta, the year after the brothers Montgolfier had made their famous ascent at Annonay on June 5, 1783.[1]

During the last evenings of a Carnival, while fireworks shot up from the quay and fell hissing into the water, the crowd worked itself up to a frenzy of gaiety and clamour. By the red flare of the rockets a sea of heads and hats sways backwards and forwards under the Procuratie and out on to the piazza. Every one shouted, and above the din rose the shrill cry of the venders of fruit, sweetmeats, and drinks. The pavement was covered with ribbons, shreds of dresses, feathers, confetti, orange peel, pumpkin seeds. Nor was the gaiety of Carnival confined to Saint Mark's; the other streets and squares also resounded to the cries of the revellers. Enough to remember that in 1783 a band of one hundred and twenty young nobles raised an amphitheatre in the Campo San Polo and gave a representation in imitation of the *Gnoccolaro fête* at Verona. At midnight on the last day of Carnival the solemn strokes of the bells of San Marco and San Francesco della Vigna warned the populace that the fun was finished, and in the light of the early dawn the tired revellers scattered to their homes down the dim alleys.

[1] *Il Pallone aerostatico*, a poem by Bernardo Calura, Venezia, 1784. Cicogna (*Iscr.* VI, 487) says that the event which furnished Calura with his subject was as follows: Francesco Pesaro, Cavaliere and Procuratore di San Marco, commissioned the brothers Zanchi to construct a balloon of twenty Venetian feet in diameter. This was sent up from the Grand Canal opposite the piazzetta on April 14, 1784. Calura's was not the only poem of this event. Count Francesco Pimbiolo degli Engelfredi also printed a little poem entitled *Il cittadino filosofo*. A medal was struck to commemorate the ascent. An example was in possession of Count Leonardo Manin. On one side is the Pesaro arms and the motto *Experientiae auspici cives*, and in the exurge, MDCCLXXXIV; on the reverse is the representation of a balloon with this legend, *Nihil imperium ingenio et largitati*. There is also an engraving of this balloon. The aeronaut was Count Giovanni Zambeccari, who also made an ascent in London.



THE Last Day of the Carnival on the Piazza di S. Marco—
from an engraving by Domenico Lovisa

UNIV. OF MICH.

Lent had its amusements, too. The young bloods, as if to recover from the disorders of Carnival tide, took to more healthy diversions. On the shooting-ranges of Sant' Alvise and San Bonaventura they started football, in light and close-fitting garments, with caps bearing black or white feathers to denote the two sides, "Mountain" and "Plain," into which they were divided. Rackets,[1] too, were in vogue among the noblemen, while *pallone* held its place among the people, though the patricians also used to play it in the Campo of San Giacomo dell' Orio and at the Gesuiti, the people being restricted to Rialto Nuovo, Canareggio, the Campo dei Nicoli at Castello, and the Corti Grandi at the Giudecca. They also went fowling on the lagoons and fishing in the *valli;* and although horses were no longer to be seen in Venice itself, yet riding was not entirely abandoned; and a society of nobles kept a riding-school at the Mendicanti, with stabling for upwards of seventy horses, where they gave displays of horsemanship in very fine style. For example, on February 27, 1679, in honour of the Duke of Mantua, who took part in the performance, there was a splendid masquerade on horseback. Some of the riders were dressed in black satin embroidered in gold, silver, and pearls, and a cap with white and yellow plumes; others were disguised as Indians, with flesh-coloured tights, and wild beasts' skins over their shoulders and chests, or embroidery of lace, and caps with white or blue plumes; others again wore Turkish costume, with jackets of gold brocade lined with ermine; others were dressed like Tartars in jackets of white brocade.[2]

[1] A *calle* at Santa Caterina is still called della Racchetta. A game which Bandello mentions (Part II, Novel 14), called *forfetta*, must have been of the nature of rackets. "La forfetta," he says, "era un giuoco di palla che si gettavano l'uno all' altro; e chi la lasciava cadere in terra senza poterla nell' aria pigliare, quello s'intendeva aveva fatto fallo e perduto il giuoco."

[2] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, cit., I, 166 et seq. Bellorato, op. cit.

The favourite pastimes of the people still remained the *pugni*, or fisticuff matches, until they were forbidden about the middle of the eighteenth century; the *forze d'Ercole*, usually performed on a raft of boats; and bull-baiting on the various *campi* and on fixed days in the courtyard of the Ducal Palace. The crowd which attended these spectacles was always large, and included patricians as well as plebeians. Each parish in Venice kept the feast day of its patron saint by a *fête* or *sagra*. On such occasions the *campi* and *calli* were decked with standards and hung with carpets; from the windows fell garlands and damasks; the shops displayed pictures and portraits; on the benches of the pastry-cooks the dishes of copper and plates of brass shone in the sun like burnished gold. Among all these *sagre* none was more celebrated than that of Santa Marta, and for a whole month after the feast of the saint, the people used to meet on Mondays on the dike of Santa Marta, where stood the booths of the pedlers and open-air kitchens, and music resounded and smoke curled up from kitchen fires. The *sagre*, and indeed all popular *fêtes* ended in a dance. The people danced on the *campi*, down the *calli*, and along the *fondamenta*. The dancers were gracefully dressed in a light silk bodice, a petticoat of vivid colours, lace and puffings of the chemise at the neck and wrists, a bouquet of flowers behind the ear or in the hair. The favourite dances were the *manfrina* and the *furlana*[1]; men and women made up a mad rout, pirouetting, contorting their bodies, shouting and singing, so that a dance ended usually in boisterous and noisy horse play. The women, especially, spun round and round like tops, or leaned over in seductive postures, or pirouetted till their skirts stood out.[2]

[1] The *Monferrina* came from Casale Monferrato, and was a step in 6-8 time. The *furlana* came from Friuli, and had a similar movement, resembling the tarantella, but less regular and more broken.

[2] Saint-Didier, op. cit., pp. 372 et seq.

DANCE of the People, by Gabriele Bella. (Venice, Galleria Quirini-Stampalia)

Le ga i busti co le ponte
Co le ponte e co le ale
E co le bala le par cavale,

so runs a popular song. The bystanders of both sexes accompanied the dance to the sound of the tambourine, the fife, the drum, the twang of the guitar, and the rhythms of ancient songs.

Sometimes, too, in one or other of the parishes there would be a din of trumpets, drums, and the firing of mortars for the election of the parish priest or even of a sacristan or sexton.[1] Only householders had the right to elect the parish priest,[2] but the whole parish took sides in the election, and the excitement found vent by scribblings on the walls in praise or abuse of the candidates. When the election was over, the partisans of the favourite made a regular pandemonium of the parish, and the evening ended with fireworks.

The populace always enjoyed the burlesque regatta of wheelbarrows. In 1751 some gay sparks induced a couple of scavengers, by the promise of a stoop of wine to run a race with their barrows. The game was repeated, with a larger number of entries, at Rialto and at Santa Maria Formosa. Still stranger was the spectacle known as "the old wife" (*della Vecchia*), which took place at mid Carnival in some of the squares, especially at San Luca, where was the pharmacy at the sign of the "Vecchia."[3] In the middle of the square was a platform hung with damask and flags; on this was placed the dummy figure of an old wife with a cap on her head and wearing a mask; two attendants paid her burlesque honours. To the jangle of instruments out of

[1] Casotti, *Lettere*, cit., p. 34. Gaspare Gozzi, in the *Gazzetta Veneta*, tells us of the doings there were for the election of the sextons Cappella, Cannella, Tintin, and Marin.

[2] [Casanova] *Confut. all' Amelot*, cit., III, 262.

[3] The pharmacy probably took its name from the marble head of an old woman let into the wall in the neighbouring *Corte del Teatro*, then called San Salvatore. *Archivio Veneto*, IV, 157 and XXXI, 475.

tune, to the shouts of the mob, and the banging of crackers tied to the tails of dogs, the dummy was sawn in two, and out fell confetti and flowers, for which the boys would scramble; and presently the *Vecchia* was committed to the flames.[1]

By way of contrast to this wild revelry of the populace, twenty days later came the solemn ceremonies of Easter, and the visit to the holy sepulchres, the most venerable being that of San Zaccaria. On Easter Monday began the *Fresco*, or procession of open gondolas, which was repeated every Sunday and festival till September. A writer of the Seicento says: "On the Grand Canal, that marvel of nature and glory of the arts, are to be seen thousands of gondolas each filled with the flower of the Venetian nobility"[2]; and in the same century the Venetian poet Gian Francesco Businello wrote:

> L'istae al fresco Gondole a dò remi
> Se vede in Canal Grande senza fin
> E in mezzo l'armonia d'un violin
> Se va gridando sempre o stali o premi.[3]

A little before sundown the procession used to start from the Ascension landing-place, or in the eighteenth century from Santa Lucia at the other end of the Canal.[4] There was a kind of race among the gondolas to the bridge della Croce; while another race took place among the lighter boats rowed by the so-called *solazzieri*, young men of good position, and by the *cortesani*, stout young gymnasts drawn from all ranks of society who were devoted to sport and not infrequently got up a quarrel merely to show off their

[1] Tassini, *Curiosità Ven.*, cit., p. 369.

[2] Zunica, *La calamita d'Europa*, cit., pp. 59, 60, 61.

[3] Businello, *Satire inedite* (*La Moda*), Bibl. Marc. Cl. IX, Cod. 461, fol. 656.

[4] "Il Giugno, 1743. Tempo poco buono e fresco. In questo tempo si tornò a porre in uso il *Fresco*, ossia corso di gondole, il dopopranzo. Si fa al presente in faccia Santa Lucia. Onesto passatempo. Si era dimesso pochi anni or sono; già cinquant' anni or sono facevasi in rio della Sensa." Zanetti, Gir., *Mem.*, cit.

prowess.[1] The great ladies were often accompanied by their waiting-maids, and as they passed, by chance or by design, the gentlemen of their acquaintance, there would follow an exchange of glances and smiles and all the opening passages of a love affair conducted midst the brilliant colouring of sea and sky.[2]

Spring ended with the festival of the Ascension in May, and all through the summer the basin of San Marco, the Grand Canal, and the Giudecca resounded with serenades which were followed by a long line of gondolas. More private serenades would sometimes wend their way through the deserted canals, or would halt before a silent palace front, while from the singers' boat would rise the love song to the lighted windows, defined against which could be seen the graceful figures of the listening ladies.

[1] Gozzi, C., *Memorie inutili*, I, 133. Venezia, 1797.
[2] Dotti (*Satire*, cit., Part I, p. 260) says of the *Fresco:*

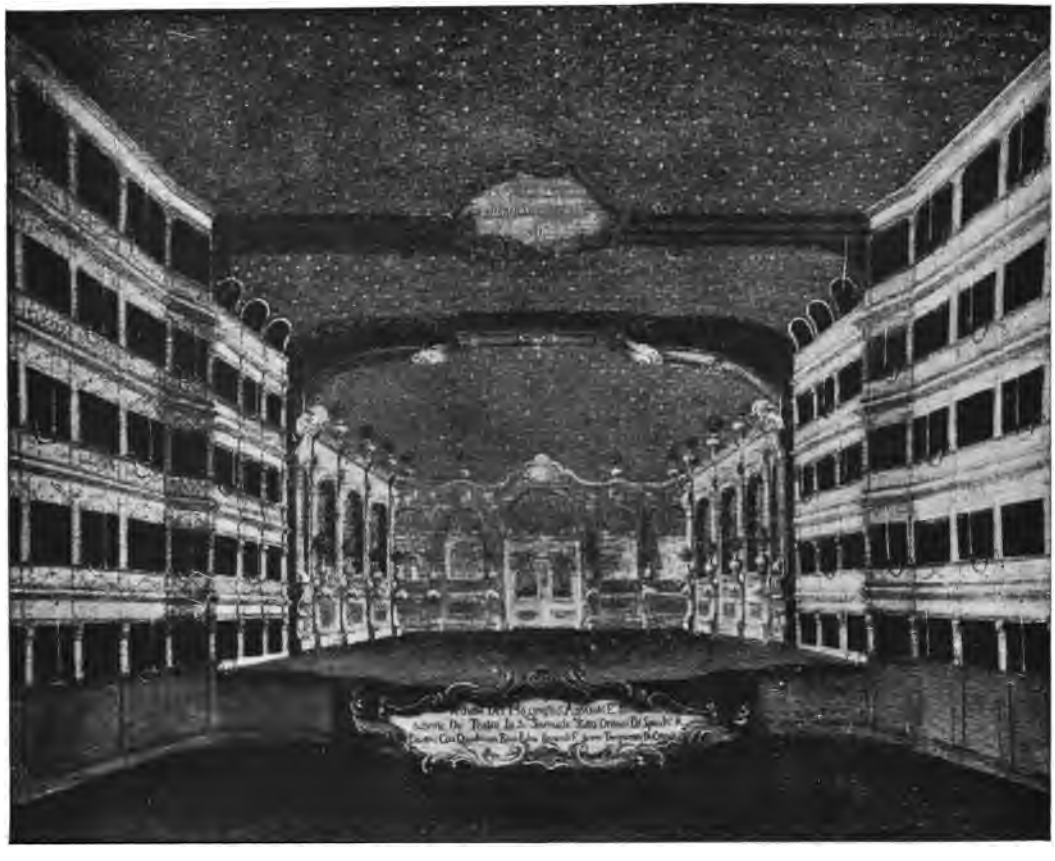
Fin ch'è giorno ad una ad una
Vanno larghe le barchette,
Quando poi la sera imbruna
Si riducono alle strette.

reserved for themselves the takings for the boxes and pit, and the rent for the buffet. The actors got only the door money, which at first was four *lire*, equal to about one shilling and eightpence of our money; in 1647 it fell to a quarter of a ducat, about eightpence. Subscription was not in vogue in Venice, where it was regarded as a miserly system, though it was common on the mainland.[1] Performances, which began in October, were suspended from December 15 till Christmas. They began again on the 26th, Saint Stephen's day, which saw the opening of Carnival. The season ended on Maundy Thursday. The theatres opened again during the fifteen days of the Ascensiontide fair. The government obliged the proprietors to have the buildings examined by an architect every year before opening their houses; and in the case of operas the price of the *libretto* was fixed by the license to print. The Council of Ten settled the hour of performance and the length of time it might take.[2] The advertisements were posted at the piazzetta and at Rialto, while criers went through the town to announce the title of the play and the hour when the house would open.[3] There were no seats reserved for the magistrates; no soldiers on guard, no representative of public order; at the most some plain-clothes man, who put in an appearance only in case of real necessity. The audience sat on chairs on wooden tiers of steps, and in the galleries, which were open down to 1678, when for the first time boxes were introduced in the Grimani theatre, at San Giovanni Grisostomo.[4]

[1] Rossi, *Racc. Costumi*, cit., XI, 32. [2] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, cit.

[3] In the *Puta onorata* of Goldoni (Act III, sc. xii) we get this account of the street near a theatre. "On one side the wooden porch which gives access to the house; further on, the exit, and the window where tickets are sold. A lad who shouts from time to time '*a prender i viglietti siore maschere, diese soldi per uno, e el pagador avanti, siore maschere.*' On the opposite side a bench long enough to hold four persons; here and there lamps, as usual near the doors of theatres." The engraved frontispiece to Zatta's edition of Goldoni represents this scene.

[4] *Not. int. all' origine dei teatri*, cit., p. 20.



INTERIOR of the Theatre of S. Samuele, by Gabriele Bella.
(Venice, Galleria Quirini-Stampalia)

UNIV. OF WICH.

In the pit the seats were separate, of wood, and very rough, like the chairs used in churches during sermon. At the comedy only the women of the people might appear in the pit, but at the opera well-born ladies also sat there. The auditorium had neither chandeliers nor lamps; at most there were some dim lights in the upper galleries, where two or three boxes would be thrown into one for the use of a party; the modest orchestra was lit by a few tallow dips. The smell of the candles, far from agreeable, did not prevent the front rows in the pit from being the favourite seats, and people would either hire them beforehand or send a servant to occupy them, or buy them from those who had already done so with a view to making a profit. Between the acts an attendant, with a dip in his hand, passed along the rows and took the pay for the seat. Opposite the pit door were the venders of apples and stewed pears, while the hawkers of water, anise, oranges, biscuits, fritters, beignets, Carubbian beans, dried chestnuts, roasted pumpkin seeds, moved about the pit with their baskets, and in the boxes the audience was served with coffee and ices. An hour before the curtain went up two poor oil lamps were lighted, one on each side of the stage, while the auditorium was dimly illuminated by the candles which some of the spectators held in their hands to read the book of the play. This poverty of light contributed to the effect when the curtain rose and displayed the brightly illuminated stage. At the end of the play the footlights were put out and the house was left to the miserable flicker of the two oil lamps.

During the seventeenth century all the attention was concentrated on the stage. The music and the words were of merely secondary importance compared with the complicated and splendid scenic apparatus, the bizarre effects, the mechanical devices, the bewildering succession of processions, banners, plumes, trumpets, ships, cars, and beasts. The most famous stage

managers were summoned to Venice to superintend the mounting of these sumptuous shows. Giacomo Torelli, of Fano (1608–1678), in the theatre of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, first introduced an invention of his for shifting the scenes by means of a lever or winch[1]; the Bolognese Ferdinando Bibiena (1657–1742) founded a whole school of stage managers at Venice, including Giambattista Piranesi, Gianfrancesco Costa, Francesco Zanchi, Andrea Urbini, the brothers Mauro, Pietro Zampieri, Antonio Codognato, Pietro Gaspari, Giancarlo Tarsio, Giuseppe Alabardi, Bernardo Canal, and others. Arteaga declares that Venice was one of the principal homes of the drama, which was there given with the utmost splendour, especially during Carnival, in order to draw the foreigner's gold.[2] Martinioni bears witness to the magnificence of the shows at the theatres of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, San Salvatore, and San Cassiano, with their "marvellous transformation scenes, their crowded stage, their ingenious mechanism, their flying figures, their scenery representing the heavens, Olympus, the ocean, royal palaces, forests, groves, and innumerable other enchanting spectacles."[3] Ivanovich records the appearance of live elephants, camels, majestic triumphal cars drawn by wild beasts or horses; dancing horses, flying horses; set pieces hung in the air, on the earth, or in the sea; and complicated machinery, which even permitted them to suspend above the stage a magnificent ballroom, with all the personages and the musicians complete, illuminated as at night, and the whole could be drawn up out of sight "to the infinite wonder and delight of the spectators."[4] In the *Andromeda* of Manelli the scenes represented the

[1] "Giacomo Torelli da Fano inventò il moversi delle scene coll' argano, e fece quattro famosi teatri in Parigi, Parma, Venezia e Fano." Museo Civico, Cod. Cicogna, 2991, fasc. II, fol. 30.

[2] Arteaga, *Le rivol. del teatro mus. it.*, I, 301. Venezia, 1785.

[3] *Aggiunte* to Sansovino's *Venetia*, p. 397.

[4] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, cit.

seashore, rocks, water, snowy mountains, flowery banks, groves, and greenery. Dark night was dispelled by Aurora, clad in silver, seated on a cloud; a flying Mercury crossed the scene, and there was Neptune in a silver conch drawn by four sea horses, and Jove enthroned in the heavens. At the theatre of San Salvatore, for the production of "Darius in Babylon," by Francesco Beverini (1671), the scene was changed fourteen times; in the *Divisione del Mondo* of Giulio Cesare Corradi (1675), all the parts of the globe were reproduced with marvellous set pieces; in the *Pastor d'Anfriso* (1695), at the theatre of San Giovanni Grisostomo, the Palace of the Sun, made of many-coloured revolving crystals, was lowered from the sky.[1]

Musical dramas with puppets for actors were not unknown, — for example, at the theatre of San Moisè in 1679[2]; and curious musical entertainments were given in 1746 in the house of the Abbé Angelo Maria Labia at San Girolamo, in a little theatre built of wood on the model of the theatre of San Giovanni Grisostomo.[3] The puppets were moved by invisible machinery. The decoration was splendid; so too the costumes and the illumination. The audience was also represented by puppets who held miniature play books in their hands; the execution was perfect, and the music was rendered by first-rate singers and an orchestra hidden behind the stage.[4]

[1] Arteaga, op. cit., I, 323, 327. At the Museo Civico, Cod. Cicogna, 3282, there is a long letter with minute details as to the mounting of plays at Venice in the Seicento. *Lettres sur toutes sortes de sujets par M. de Vaumorière.* Paris, 1714.

[2] Matteo del Teglia, Tuscan Resident in Venice, wrote, under date October 14, 1679: "Al teatro di San Moisè si farà l'opera in musica con certe figurine di nuova invenzione." See Arch. di Stato, Firenze. Arch. Mediceo, *Lettre dei Residenti a Ven.*, file 3040, fol. 827.

[3] Many noble houses had their marionette theatres. One in the Palazzo Grimani at the Servi (XVIII century) is still preserved in the Museo Civico.

[4] Groppo, *Catal. dei drammi per musica recit. nei teatri di Ven. fino al 1746.* Venezia, 1746. Allacci, *Drammaturgia*, etc., p. 931. Venezia, 1755.

If the stage managers and mechanicians constantly invented new effects so complicated that they bordered on the grotesque, the poets composed dramas so insipid as to be almost ludicrous. Benedetto Marcello in his famous satire lashes the playwrights, who, he says, are lacking in culture and who bring upon the stage plots that are ridiculous, characters without consistency, and stuff their plays with all the stale devices of the dagger, poison, earthquakes, lightning, madness, and a hundred other extravagances.[1] In such an atmosphere it is a wonder that the great musicians of the Seicento and the lesser but still excellent masters of the Settecento could flourish, and that Venetian taste for good music was not utterly destroyed. Marcello is no less severe on the *virtuosi*, the new name which singers began to adopt; they were at no pains to form their voices or to sing in tune and in time. Their behaviour on the stage was outrageous, their dress ridiculous; they paid no attention to the audience; they chattered with the prompter, took snuff, made eyes at the boxes. Impertinent and capricious, they were never satisfied with the impresario's terms; they sang only when it suited them, and fell ill on the smallest pretext.[2]

The proprietors of theatres in Venice were not niggardly in paying for the best voices.[3] Banti and Morichelli sent the public into ecstasies[4]; Tonelli was acclaimed as the greatest singer in Italy. Faustina Bordoni, Diamante Scarabelli, Rosa Vitalba, and Anna

[1] Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda*. Edit. Tessier. Venezia, 1887.

[2] Goldoni, *L'impresario delle Smirne*, Act II, sc. i.

[3] The Tuscan Resident, M. del Teglia, writes, under date November 29, 1681: "Divengono esorbitanti le spese in far venire musici e cantanti della prima riga, oltre gli abiti sontuosi e scene che si fanno a gara dagl' interessati di questi teatri." Arch. di Stato, Firenze. *Lett. Res.*, cit., File 3041, fol. 617.

[4] A year before the Republic fell a brochure appeared, under the following title: "Applausi al singolar merito della celebre signora Anna Morichelli Bosello che canta in Venezia, nel teatro Giustinian in San

Benini brought down the house; Todi, a Portuguese, roused such enthusiasm that they engraved her portrait surrounded by Genii and bearing the legend "Venetiis anno Todi" — two centuries earlier, the year of the Victory of Lepanto had been christened "annus victoriæ navalis"! Musicians, too, like Bianca Sacchetti who played the harpsichord, received a similar honour.

The *castrati*, who were first introduced into the papal choir in 1601, and then in all the theatres, enjoyed a like popularity. They assumed a manner consonant with their condition and their high female voice; they wore tight-laced stays, and were furnished with pocket mirrors, patches, rouge, and pomade. In the *Andromeda* of Manelli, Anselmo Marconi, a singer who took the *rôle* of Venus, inspired a poet of the Seicento with the following silly lines:

> Io piuttosto vorrei te sempre udire,
> Sõavissima Venere canora,
> Ch' in grembo ad altra Venere gioire.

Among the *castrati* of the seventeenth century Giuliano Zuliani,[1] who was born in 1638 at Murano and died there at the age of ninety-one, had a phenomenal triumph on the Venetian stage. The next century applauded Carlo Broschi, called the Farinello; Andrea Martini, called the Senesino, and Gaspare Pacchierotti. In 1780 the whole of Venice was so ravished by his voice that the government begged him to sing in San Marco on Christmas day.

The ballet, which was introduced on the Italian stage at the beginning of the seventeenth century, soon

Moisè quest' anno 1796. Venezia, Stamp. Fenzo." The applause of the poet was modelled on lines like these:

> Tacciano l'Istro, il Gange, il Nilo omai
> Il suono a udir di sì canora attrice.

Morichelli had been in Venice four years earlier, along with her rival Banti, the most touching of the singers who filled the second half of the Settecento.

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 369.

found its way to Venice. But there it was not grace of movement, but violent contortions, *tours de force* of equilibrium, difficult postures, leaps, bounds, and dangerous capers, which commanded the public applause.[1] Loose dress and suggestive poses were also admired, and Goethe, in 1786, noted that those dancers who made a point of displaying their person were the general favourites. The Council of Ten made the same observation, and in 1793 took steps to prevent the ballet girls from appearing on the stage in dress *di forme immodeste e di colori equivoci e scandalosi*.[2]

Singers and actors were well paid; the ordinary fee for the season for a *virtuoso* was as much as one thousand sequins. Comedians, on the contrary, were poorly remunerated. For instance, Teodora Ricci, the darling of the stage, famous for her adventures with Carlo Gozzi, earned only three hundred and fifty ducats a year. Nevertheless, the comic stage was held in esteem by the Venetians. The comic masks, the *Commedia dell' arte*, which reached its highest development in Italy of the Seicento, thanks to the companies of the *Affezionati*, the *Risoluti*, the *Spensierati*, and the *Accesi*, secured the favour of the public. Among individual actors of that century we may mention Camillo Rocco, Silvio Roncagli, Flaminio Scala, Antonio Riccoboni, Adriano Valerini, Soldano Aniello, Orazio Nobili, Giandonato Lombardo, Lodovico da Bologna, Barga, Pilotto, Garelli, and Lidia. Though the jokes and capers of the mountebanks were not entirely banished from the *Commedia dell' arte*, the comedians of the Seicento were very different from the actors whom Tomaso Garzoni so scathingly describes in his *Piazza*, and had

[1] "Il faut que la danseuse devienne convulsive, qu'elle s'agite, qu'elle se demene; qu'elle donne à son corps une posture irrégulière; qu'elle se panche, qu'elle se renverse, qu'elle tombe sur le théâtre; qu'on la relève, qu'on la soûtienne." *De Venise — Remarques sur la musique et la danse ou lettres de M. G.* [Goudar]. Venise, 1773.

[2] *Notizie intorno all' origine dei teatri*, cit., p. 32.

won for themselves a certain respect from the public. Comedy flourished in the companies which occupied the theatres of San Luca and San Samuele, and in the private companies of the Venetian Pietro Rossi, Girolamo Medebac, and Antonio Sacchi. Girolamo Medebac, Goldoni's impresario, was an excellent *primo amoroso* under his stage name of *Ottavio;* his wife, Teodora Raffi, was celebrated in pathetic parts under the name of *Rosaura.* The attraction of the public was instantly arrested, and the house broke into peals of laughter the moment Antonio Sacchi appeared on the scene as Truffaldino. Sacchi, the last great actor in the *Commedia dell' arte*, was born at Vienna in 1708 and died on board ship between Genoa and Marseilles in the eightieth year of his age. Goldoni says that three great actors were born about the same date: Garrick in England, Préville in France, Sacchi in Italy. The *prima donna* Teodora Ricci belonged to Sacchi's company; and so did the *soubrette* Andriana Sacchi-Zanoni; Anastasio Zanoni, a *Brighella* of sparkling wit; Roderigo Lombardi, the most capable *Dottor Balanzon;* Antonio Vitalba, the inimitable *amoroso;* and Cesare d'Arbes, the most engaging Pantaloon ever seen.[1]

The Venetians were insatiable theatre-goers, and Gaspare Gozzi declares that the evenings when a play was on you would have thought the houses in the town were all to let; while the theatres were too small for the crowds that filled them. The audience must always have been a noisy one, and we hear of a comedian of the fifteenth century who addressed his public thus: "Tazia ogni uno e stagi alla sua sedia."[2] But the bad habit surpassed all bounds during the last two centuries of the Republic, and at the opera

[1] Gozzi, *Memorie inutile*, II, 2. Venezia, 1799. Rossi, *Racc.*, cit., XI, 32.

[2] *Comœdia Caii Portii Calogieri siculi poetæ lepidissimi.* See the study by Vitt. Rossi in the *Archivio storico Sicil.*, p. 250. Palermo, 1898.

and more especially at the comedy the audience gave vent to every kind of noise and clamour, — great guffaws, hoarse shouts, whistles, caterwaulings, cock-crowing, sneezing, coughing, loud yawns, and bellowing. The greatest offenders were the gondoliers, who had free entry.[1] The free list also included the self-styled friends of the actors. The actors, however, had some real friends, among them the perfumer Luigi Fabbri, whose shop was on the piazza di San Marco, next door to the church of San Geminiano. Fabbri had himself walked the boards in his youth, and was attracted by his brother actors, who gave him the name of Consul of the Comedians.[2] There was another kind of so-called admirer, a type that is not quite extinct to this day, — people who fastened themselves on to the skirts of the comedians, chiefly with a view to getting on the free list. Goldoni has left us a vivid picture of this species of parasite, known in theatrical slang as *gonzi*, in his *Sior Zamaria de la Bragola*, one of those who "scroccano la porta, danno incomodo sulla scena e poi dicono male della commedia."[3]

During the performance the ladies took coffee or ices, and never ceased chattering with the gentlemen who crowded the boxes; and the last Venetian ambassadress at Paris wrote to a patrician lady of her acquaintance:

[1] "On ouvre ordinairement la porte à Messieurs les gondoliers, qui font un corps considérable à Venise et dont on tire divers grands usages. Leur office en cette occasion est de frapper des mains, et de crier comme des desesperez, pour donner de temps en temps des louanges aux acteurs." Misson, *Nouv. Voy. d'Italie*, cit., I, 243. See, too, Goldoni, *La Puta onorata*, Act III, sc. xiv.

[2] Goldoni, *Le donne gelose*, Act II, sc. xiii.

[3] *Nelle Introduzioni per l'apertura del teatro San Luca* (1753–1754), a little comedy in one act, almost entirely forgotten, and not included in the collections of Pasquali, Zatta, and others. It was printed by Pitteri, and there were two pirated editions, one at Bologna, the other at Florence. Edgardo Maddalena mentions it in his study called *Scene e figure Molieresche imitate dal Goldoni* (in the *Rivista Teatrale Italiana*, anno 1905, fasc. 3, 4, 5. Napoli, 1905). Maddalena observes that Goldoni's *Sior Zamaria* is a felicitous imitation of Molière's *Monsieur de la Thorillière* in the *Impromptu de Versailles*.

"I often go to the theatres, which are very different from ours; people go to listen and not to talk, as with us."[1] Some of the great ladies would even appear in dresses of *massima indecenza*, and on December 23, 1776, the government issued a decree calling on patrician dames to come to the theatre masked in *tabarro* and *bauta* and in decent apparel.[2] The more rowdy young nobles, who were often to be seen with their mistresses in the boxes, would throw candle ends at the hats of the people in the pit, or would spit on the shoulders and heads of the public.[3] *Saranno infreddati! Dio li aiuti!* cries Gaspare Gozzi, — a cold which, as Tommasèo wittily remarks, was cured in May of ninety-seven by a dose of French pastilles. There was silence only at the moment when some famous singer began her *aria*, but no sooner was that over than the noise broke out again. Nor was the public content to show its approval by clapping; it burst into the most tender and endearing of terms: "*Siestu benedeta! Benedeto el*

[1] Private Archives of the Widmann-Rezzonico, *Lett. di Maria . . . Lippomano Quirini a Elisabetta Widman* (October 29, 1795). Lamberti (*Mem.*, cit., II, 53), says: "Non era in generale il dramma molto ascoltato dal mondo galante, anzi durante il canto e la musica facevasi la più brillante conversazione. Una sola arietta, un duetto, un terzetto, alcune volte interessavano, ed avevano luogo in questi soli casi il silenzio e l'attenzione; ed infallibilmente durante il ballo."

[2] Arch. di Stato, Inquis. di Stato, B[a] 358, fol. 190.

[3] This filthy habit was practised in the seventeenth century, and Saint-Didier mentions it (*La Ville et la Rep.*, cit., p. 353). There is an unedited account of a journey by an anonymous writer in 1762 (see Neri, *Costumanze e sollazzi*, p. 85, Genova, 1883), who says: "Nei teatri accadono delle improprietà perchè quei che sono nel *parter* ossia platea, sono spesso soggetti a ricevere sputi ed altre immondezze, che senza verun riguardo vengono dai palchi." Arthur Young, in his *Voyage en Italie pendant l'année 1789* (p. 99, Paris, 1796) notes a still filthier habit: "Il y a au théâtre de Venise, entre le premier rang de chaises du parterre et l'orchestre, un espace du cinq ou six pieds sans planches; un homme bien mis qui se trouvoit dans les loges de côté, presque sous une file des dames, passa dans cet endroit, et y fit de l'eau avec autant d'indifférence que s'il avoit été dans la rue, et personne que moi n'en parut surpris. C'est neanmoins une chose bien sale." Young, however, must have been dreaming, for we have no mention of such indecency in any other writer.

pare che t'ha fato ; ah! cara, me buto zozo."[1] Flowers rained down from the galleries, and sheets of paper with laudatory poems, even doves with bells round their necks, were let loose to convey to the songstress the enthusiastic praises of her admirers.[2] A scene or an air was never encored except at the last representation of an opera, and it was thought to be a mark of extraordinary enthusiasm when, during the Carnival of 1790, Elisabetta Taiber had to repeat for several evenings an air from the *Didone abbandonata* or from *Creso*.[3]

In the theatres where comedies were given, an actor came forward to announce the play for the next evening. The first and the last night of any season, one of the actresses addressed a complimentary poem to the audience. The custom of calling the author to the footlights, already common in France,[4] came into use in Venice towards the close of the Settecento, and was adopted in the case of the impresario as well as of the author.[5] Sometimes hisses would drown the applause, and the noble ladies would join in the fray. In December, 1783, while the ballet of *Adriano in Siria* by Lefèvre was being given at the theatre of San Benedetto, a part of the audience began to hiss Giovanna Bacelli, the *prima ballerina*, who swooned. The noble lady Cecilia Zeno Tron took the luckless dancer under her protection, and to such good purpose that on her benefit

[1] Saint-Didier, op. cit., p. 350. Marcello, *Il teatro di musica alla moda*, cit.

[2] For example, at San Moisè one evening in 1764, in honour of Rosa Vitalba, who was singing in *Li rivali placati*. Wiel, *I teatri mus. in Venezia*, cit., Introd., p. 50.

[3] Wiel, op. cit., Introd., p. 25. In the ballet encores were frequent. After the funeral of the Queen and the fall of the curtain in the ballet of *Semiramide* the public recalled Semiramis. "Il faut que Semiramis reparoisse, qu'elle sorte de son tombeau et danse une autre fois comme l'hombre de Ninus; on diroit que c'est la pantomime des revenans." Goudar, *Remarques sur la musique*, cit., p. 108.

[4] Goldoni, *Mém.*, Part III, Chap. XVI.

[5] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., January 1, 1785.

night she gathered the handsome sum of six hundred sequins.[1] "Seeing that the honest diversion of the theatre," so runs a decree of the Ten, "is degenerating into rivalry and insulting language on the part of the people,"[2] efforts were made to restore order, especially in the later years when the government dreaded all pretexts for demonstrations. In December of 1776 the ballet of Coriolanus by Giuseppe Canciani was prohibited at the theatre of San Benedetto, because, as Giacomo Casanova declares in a report to the Inquisitors, "la fanatica temerità di Coriolano poteva suscitare nelle menti suscettibili un certo spirito di rivolta.[3] If the spirit of rebellion could insinuate itself amid the pirouettes[4] of a ballet,

[1] Ballarini, op. cit., 3 and 31 January, 1784.

[2] *Not. int. all' origine dei teatri*, cit., p. 31.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Inquis. di Stato, *Riferte dei Confidenti*, B[a] 565 (Casanova, Giac.). He says: "Il primo ballo di S. Benetto non sarebbe forse stato tanto osservabile fuori delle presenti circostanze. Ieri sera cagionò generalmente in tutto il pubblico discorsi non convenienti . . . Il ballo Coriolano seminò nelle menti suscettibili un certo spirito di rivolta, che fè nascere sinistri ragionamenti, ed uscire da varie bocche discorsi sconcj. Se il programma del ballo, che, stampato, corre sotto agli occhi di tutti, avesse avuto per revisore un prudente pensatore, la stampa non ne sarebbe stata permessa. Senza il programma sarebbe stata meno patente la fanatica temerità di Coriolano, il dispregio al decreto del Senato, l'infrazione del medesimo in quel modo scandaloso, la forza delle dame romane." (a tergo) *1776, 28 Dicembre.* "Fu immediatamente chiamato l'impresario di San Benedetto, Michiel Dall' Agata, e fu precettato che non si vuoleva più che fosse fatto nel Teatro il Ballo di Coriolano in pena della vita. Indi si è ordinato che siano raccolte e presentate tutte le stampe di detto ballo."

[4] Political suspicion found its way even into the gay life of the singers and roused the vigilance of the Inquisitors. In 1754 Caterina Gabrielli, a Roman, surnamed *Cocchetta* because she was the daughter of Prince Gabrielli's cook, was singing at San Moisè. She was only twenty-four, and had a very sweet voice. She was living with her sister in a house at San Fantin, and her rooms were frequented by notables, especially by the imperial ambassador and several young nobles. The Inquisitors ordered the patrician Andrea Cornér, impresario of the theatre of San Moisè, to find another lodging for the ladies, and severely reprimanded the nobles who, contrary to the law, had met the ambassador in *Cocchetta's* house (Arch. di Stato, Annotaz. Inquis. di Stato, B[a] 1746–1755, fol. 221). Foreign ambassadors sometimes found themselves mixed up in theatrical affairs. For instance, in 1744, the Count of Montagu, the French ambassador, and his secretary Jean Jacques Rousseau, tried to persuade the dancer

still greater care had to be taken to prevent the stage from becoming a danger to public or private morals or the mouthpiece of political doctrines.

But no measures sufficed to hinder the uproar and confusion common to the theatrical world. In 1785, at the theatre of San Giovanni Grisostomo, Giovanni Pindemonte's tragedy of *I coloni in Candia* gave occasion for a demonstration against the Greeks, and the affair went on for five nights. "L'affare era così riscaldato in paese," writes Ballarini, "che il Consiglio dei Dieci fece sospendere la recita della tragedia."[1] A few days earlier the *Disertore* of Bartolomeo Benincasa, set to music by Francesco Bianchi, had been given at San Benedetto; the moment the French uniforms were seen on the stage the whole audience hissed[2]; a little later, however, the Princess of Courland desired to hear the opera, and then it roused the enthusiasm of the fickle public. Still more famous was the uproar raised at the theatre of San Salvatore in 1777, over Carlo Gozzi's *Droghe d'Amore*. The author, in a fit of jealousy over the comedian Teodora Ricci, had caricatured, under the name of "Adone," her lover, the Secretary to the Senate, Pier Antonio Gratarol. The public, keen for a scandal, crowded the house and jeered at the luckless Secretary, who, pale with rage, appealed, but in vain, to the Inquisitors. Gratarol, after falling out with the government and with the Procuratessa Tron, whom he suspected of being his foe, was banished, and retired to Stockholm, where he vented his spleen in his *Narrazione apologetica*.[3] The theatrical squabbles of Carlo Gozzi, Goldoni, and Chiari also threw the city into a kind of frenzy, and the case was discussed in the

Barbarina to keep her promise of going to Berlin. Céresole, *J. J. Rousseau à Ven.*, pp. 44, 45. Genève, 1885.

[1] Ballarini, *Lett.*, cit., January 15, 1785.

[2] Ibid., January 1, 1785.

[3] Gratarol, *Narrazione apologetica*. Stockholm, Fougt, 1779.

play-houses, the home, the shops, coffee-houses, and streets.[1]

The select public which attended the concerts of the Philharmonic Societies maintained a very different attitude. Among these societies the four *Conservatoires* attached to the four hospitals or charitable asylums, the Incurabili, Mendicanti, Ospedaletto, and Pietà, enjoyed a great name. In each of them the orphan girls were taught to play and to sing, and the State gave each of these pupils one hundred Venetian *lire* a year. They performed in concerts in the churches and in concert rooms especially built for the purpose, like the music chamber of the Ospedaletto, which was beautifully decorated, in 1776, by Agostino Colonna. These musical academies — or oratorios, as they were called, — were famous throughout Europe; no stranger of importance visiting Venice failed to assist at one of their concerts, and all were struck by the ability of the executants.[2] "Elles chantent comme des anges," writes President De Brosses in 1739, who, with his fine French taste, has a word of praise also for the white-robed maiden with a pomegranate flower behind her ear directing the orchestra in perfect time and with admirable grace.[3] Rousseau declares that he had heard "rien d'aussi touchant que cette musique."[4] Goethe recalls the music of infinite beauty, the superb voices, especially of one soprano so marvellous that he

[1] The partisans issued such a flood of satires, epigrams, and sonnets that Amedeo Swayer could fill a bulky volume with his collection, which bore this title, *Composizioni sui teatri commedie e poeti nell' anno 1754 in Venezia* (Museo Civico, MSS. Cicogna, cod. 2395).

[2] La Vicentina of the Ospedaletto "est une petite créature qui enchante," says Misson, *Voy.*, op. cit., p. 241. "La Chiaretta (della Pietà) seroit sûrement le premier violon de l'Italie, si l'Anna Maria des Hospitalettes ne la surpassoit encore," says De Brosses, *Lettres*, cit., 18. On *fêtes* every one flocked to the Incurabili to hear Vespers, and to listen, among others, to two of the novices, Greghetta and Anzoletta, who "do not chant but enchant," says Casotti, *Lett.*, cit., July 29, 1713.

[3] De Brosses, *Lettres*, cit., p. 18.

[4] Rousseau, *Confessions*, Tom. II, Lib. VII.

declares he had never heard its equal. A great English critic, Burney, was entranced by the quality of the voices, their flexibility, expression, and style, and by the choral volume, though there were none but women's voices, so splendidly were they balanced between sopranos, mezzo-sopranos, and contraltos.[1] These *Conservatoires* were the rendezvous of refined society. If the performances were given in church, the choir was separated from the public, which could not even see the singers behind the close iron grille, while the strains floated out and dominated the susceptible nerves of the audience till in some cases they would swoon for sheer delight.[2] But if the concert was given in the concert chamber of the *Conservatoire*, the highest art might find itself side by side with the most banal of intrigues. The girls mixed freely with the company, chattered, took refreshments, ogled the young beaux, or drew aside with them for more intimate discourse. A French traveller notes: "Quatre cents voix et istrumens choisis parmi les virtuoses d'Italie, remplissoient l'orchestre, qui était conduit par le fameux Sassone (Hasse) compositeur de la musique . . . Les religieuses toutes gentilles donnes alloient et venoient à deux grilles qui séparent l'autel, y faisoient la conversation et y distribuaient de refraichissemens à des chevaliers et à des abbés, qui tous, l'éventail à la main, étoient en cercle à l'une et à l'autre grille." [3]

But concerts and the theatre, though highly popular with the Venetians, were not their favourite amusement; they loved the gambling-saloons better still. The government in vain issued their decrees against gambling,[4] until, persuaded that the better course was to

[1] Vernon Lee, *Il settecento in Italia*, I, 217, translation. Milano, 1882.

[2] Ibid., I, 202. See, too, Beckford's story of the Paduan lady who swooned under the emotion of music.

[3] Grosley, *Nouv. mémoires ou obser. sur l'Italie*, Tom. III. Londres, 1765.

[4] "1628 Adì 29 Dic. In Consiglio X. A quanto è stato in varij tempi deliberato da questo Conseglio, et ultimamente dal Magg. Cons. a' 26

Music Room in the Ospedaletto dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo

attempt its regulation, they granted permission to Marco Dandolo to open, in 1638, the *Ridotto*, a public gaming-house, in his palace at San Moisè. The building was restored and enlarged in 1768 from designs by Maccarucci.[1] The entrance hall was hung with stamped leather, and there the maskers would walk and talk, or would pass thence into two little neighbouring chambers with buffets: at one they sold chocolate, coffee, and tea; at the other, wine, cheese, sausages, and fruit. From the entrance hall opened ten large rooms in which the gaming-tables for *bassetta* or *faraone* or *biribisso* or *panfil* were set out.[2] At each table sat a nobleman, in robe and wig, with piles of sequins and of ducats before him ready to hold the bank against all comers provided they were either patricians or masked. Women were admitted and, if patrician, were permitted to unmask; and even mere lads might be seen in the Ridotto.[3] In the gambling-saloon not a sound was to

Sett. passato et dal Senato a' 2 Decembre presente conosce cadauno . . . come risoluta sij la volontà . . . che con ogni rigore si proueda alla licentia di quelli che . . . si fanno lecito adunarsi in publici Ridotti, Casini, Case proprie et de Meretrici, Botteghe, Magazeni, Hosterie et anco nelle piazze et strade pubbliche della Città, et ivi giocando a carte et dadi spendono le proprie sostanze, et il sostenimento delle famiglie intiere. . . . L'anderà parte che tutti li pubblici Ridotti niuno eccettuato, siano del tutto proibiti . . . et tutte le affittanze fatte di case, ove si tengono Ridotti, siano e s'intendano giorni quindici doppo publicata la presente parte, tagliate et annullate . . . Tutti quelli che quovismodo serviranno a detti Ridotti, siano puniti di pena afflittiva, Galea, Prigion, ovvero altra, che parerà alli Esecutori contro la Biastema." *Parte presa nell' Ecc. Conseglio dei Dieci in materia di Ridotti e Giuochi.* Stamp. per Antonio Pinelli, Stampator Ducale.

[1] Biliotti, *Il Ridotto*. Venezia, 1870.

[2] The kinds of games were infinite in number, from all the modifications of *tresette* and *tarocco* to *faraone, panfil, bassetta, sette e mezzo, maccà, zechinetta, pichèto, bestia, cresciman, coteccio*, and so on. *Tresette* and *sette e mezzo* were not games of hazard and were popular in *salons*. See the poem *Il trionfo del tresette poema in versi sciolti di un patrizio Veneto* (Lodovico Morelli). Venezia, Zatta, 1756. *Sette e mezzo* was of later date, and might be made a game of hazard, on which ground it was prohibited by the Inquisitori. Ballarini writes, on January 27, 1787: "L'altro giorno dal Tribunale fu proibito il sette e mezzo, nuovo giuoco. Oh che convento!"

[3] Freschot (*Relation*, cit., p. 220) says that he once saw at the Ridotto Silvestro Valier, the future Doge, gambling together with his wife; and, on

be heard; the play went on in absolute silence, and vast sums of money changed hands with perfect *sang froid*.[1] The government was forced to adopt radical measures to put an end to the ruin of family after family, and on November 27, 1774, the Great Council, *per sopprimere nella sua principal sede il vizio del giuoco*, on the suggestion of the Correttori alle leggi, ordered the closing of the Ridotto.[2] The Venetians being deprived of their promenade in the *Camera lunga*, the main gambling-saloon, and no longer able to hang over the tables, took to disconsolate sauntering in the piazza, where they yawned and grumbled at the government.[3] "The whole population," says a

another occasion, that he met a Mocenigo who introduced his young son to the company. He had supplied the lad with a large sum in sequins, and declared that he wished him to make his colleagues' acquaintance *perdendo questi tre o quattro bezzetti* ("by losing these three or four coppers"). When Marco Foscarini was ambassador at Rome in 1740, De Brosses describes him as an indefatigable gamester. Girolamo Zanetti in his Memoirs notes: "12 febbr. 1743. Nelle passate sere la duchessa di Modena perdette, giuocando al Ridotto, mille zecchini col N. H. Sier Gregorio Barbarigo da Santa Maria Zobenigo."

[1] Saint-Didier, op. cit., p. 345. Freschot (*Relation*, p. 418) says that in his day a patrician of the Moro family was considered the boldest and most lucky gambler in Venice. He was reported to have won 500,000 ducats. He kept the bank at the Ridotto in a separate room, and all the royal personages who passed through Venice at Carnival time paid him a visit, and it was a pleasure to see him sitting there in his ample robes of crimson velvet lined with lynx, his cap with a great rosette of diamonds, always smiling, accepting any stakes, and winning or losing with perfect impassibility.

[2] The voting in the Great Council on the closing of the Ridotto, where gambling was, in the words of the motion, *solenne, continuo, universale, violento*, fell thus: Ayes, 720, Noes, 21, Neutrals, 22. The Ridotto was turned into government offices.

[3] In an anonymous brochure entitled *Piano di riforma del Carnevale proposto di Cinque Correttori*, the *illustrissimi barnabotti* argue thus: "I altri ani aspetavimo el dì de San Stefano come i Abrei el Messia. E se averziva el Ridotto per divertirse e guadagnavimo dei bezzi; la mattina andavimo dal luganeghér, e compravimo le nostre bone fete de figao, do bragiolete, una bossa de vin, do soldi de pan, mezzo trareto de fruti; e se la passavimo da gran cavalieri. Dopo che gavè serà le porte del Reduto, servo al luganeghér, adio al frutarol, sara finio la tola." Others, however, approved the action of the government. Goldoni, in his Memoirs (Part II, Chap. IX), remarks: "Vi saranno forse dei particolari che si

THE RIDOTTO, by Francesco Guardi. (Museo Civico)

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contemporary writer, "grows melancholy: the Jews turn as yellow as pumpkins; the merchants drive no trade; the mask-makers perish of hunger; and the hands of certain gentlemen *barnabotti*, accustomed to shuffle the cards for ten hours a day, have now grown shrivelled and shrunk; in truth, vices are absolutely necessary to the life of a State."[1] And as a matter of fact the government did endeavour to raise a revenue from the vice of gaming.[2] The public lottery had already appeared in the sixteenth century; on December 21, 1715,[3] it was formally established, and the concession was granted to Lodovico Corner, who, besides paying down 125,000 ducats to the government, paid 25,000 ducats a year as rent. The public lottery ceased in 1726,[4] but was permanently re-established by the government in 1734.[5] Games of hazard banished from the Ridotto took refuge in private casinos, coffee-houses, and taverns.

lamenteranno di questa abolizione, ma basterà però sempre il dire, per provarne la saviezza, che quei medesimi del Gran Consiglio che amavano il giuoco, diedero nonostante i loro voti per l'esecuzione del nuovo decreto." An anonymous poet even praises the Cinque Correttori for their proposal to close the Ridotto:

Vedo el vizio estirpà, crollà el Redutto,
Venezia salva, el ziogo alfin proscritto,
De cinque omeni illustri, opera e frutto.

[1] *Lettere de M. Sara Goudar.* Amsterdam, 1776.

[2] The Tuscan envoy, M. del Teglia, writes under date April 8, 1679: "Dirò fra tanto per capo di curiosità che per sgravarsi questo pubblico dal grosso debbito di zecca, si danno hora fuori le oblatorie per invitar gli amici al corso di questa fortuna, consistendo in un Lotto con l'impiego di cinque di questi ducati per ogni bulletino, e può ciascuno di questi havere il benefitio di fin 100 mila ducati; ed ogni tre mesi si caverà la sorte." Arch. di Stato, Florence, *Lett. Residenti*, file 3040, fol. 566.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, reg. 270, fol. 663. (See also under date February 22, m. v.).

[4] Ibid., reg. 290, fol. 157 (December 15, 1725), which provides for the cessation of the lottery *ad uso di Genova*, in April, 1726.

[5] *Proclama dei Deputati et Aggionti alla Provision del Dinaro* and the *Deliberazione del Senato*, a copy of which exists in Busta 239, s.v. *Lotto Pubblico*, in the *Compilazioni Leggi*.

The old regulations against the opening of private casinos are repeated during the centuries under consideration. In 1609 a law was issued forbidding all such places where they held *conventicole, segreti ingressi per dar nell' estremo eccesso di giuoco*, and every other kind of license. In 1628 severe decrees were issued against the *detestandi ridotti* which have *apparati di ostentazione e di lusso non più mai soliti qui di vedersi*.[1] Some of these casinos were the property of private owners, and we shall return to them presently; others belonged to a society or club whose object was conversation, music, and other legitimate amusement, though they not infrequently became the haunts of gambling, disorder, and license. There were clubs for the nobles,[2] for the government secretaries, for lawyers, and for merchants, and even the common people insisted on having their assembly rooms. In 1782, for instance, the government closed a club behind the Hostelry of the Salvage Man at San Marco; it was composed of waiters, men-servants, their wives, and such like women, and had its rules and officers and elections, exactly like the Nobles' Club; the members all gambled and squandered their money on a luxury ill fitted to their social condition.[3] In spite of the laws, however, these private casinos continued to flourish, and some, like the Casino at San Moisè and that on the Giudecca, became veritable gambling-hells.[4] Many coffee-houses too were devoted to gaming, and the government, aware that they did not merely serve their ostensible

[1] Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 109, fol. 412 (December 2, 1628).

[2] The Nobles Club was in the Procuratie Nuove, near San Geminiano; it was called the "Filarmonici." On the opposite side in the Procuratie Vecchie was the Club of the Foreign Envoys, who were forbidden to have any relations with patricians.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Inquis. di Stato, *Annotazioni*, B[a] 539, fol. 128 (August 12, 1782).

[4] Ibid., B[a] 533. *Rubrica*, letter E, s. v. *Casini*. In 1749 the Inquisitors called on the parish priests to furnish a list of all the houses let to nobles as casinos.

purpose, went the length of forbidding women to enter them, thereby provoking from the Abbé Angelo Maria Labia the following ironical lines:

Ziogo e lusso spuar ne fa i polmoni
La religion xe andada in precipizio
E i cafè fè serar? oh che cogioni!

Still better is that loose poet Baffo:

La giera in fato una gran bella cosa
Veder in le botteghe una filada
De done vestíe tute de parada!
O Dio che mutazion triste e noiosa!

Ma per quanto che i vogia tegnir duro
Che in bottega non vada più le done
Gnente no i farà mai ve l'assicuro!

In fact it was too severe a penance to abstain from frequenting those charming haunts where they sold spiced drinks of which the Venetians were so fond. It is remarkable that the first mention of coffee is made by a Venetian. Gianfrancesco Morosini, *Bailo* at Constantinople, in his report to the Senate in 1585, remarks that the Turks are in the habit of drinking "un' acqua negra, bollente quanto possono sofferire, che si cava d'una semente che chiaman *Cavèe*, la quale dicono ha virtù di far stare l'uomo svegliato."[1] The infusion of the roasted and ground berry was at first treated as a medicine, and in 1638 it fetched a very high price at Venice; but by 1676 it had begun to appeal to the popular palate, and the Senate ordered the Board of Trade to draw a higher revenue from the *abbondante vendita del caffè, giacci ed acque aggiacciate, che sono inventate dall' allettamento del senso.*

In 1683 the first café was opened under the Procuratie Nuove; very soon other shops appeared in various parishes, and by the eighteenth century almost all the shops

[1] *Relazioni, degli ambasciatori ven. al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, ed. by Eugenio Albéri, Series III, Vol. III, p. 251. Firenze, 1855.

round the Piazza of San Marco were coffee-houses.[1] Close to the piazza was the Café of the Ponte dell' Angelo, where in 1792 died the *Cane tabacchino*, whose satirical eulogy was penned by Vincenzo Formaleoni[2]; the Café *delle Rive* at San Moisè was the rendezvous of light-hearted patrician ladies and gentlemen; the Café *dei Segretari* saw the meeting of government secretaries like Giacomuzzi, Businello, and Gratarol; the Procurators of San Marco and the higher government officials frequented the *Nave* in the Calle larga San Marco, while the *Spaderia* was the haunt of those who favoured the new-fangled ideas from France. The Café *Menegazzo*, half-way down the Merceria, was well known; it took its name from its owner, Menico, of stout and stalwart proportions; it was the resort of the literary world, and there one would listen to the witty discourse of Angelo Maria Barbaro, Lorenzo da Ponte, Marco Forcellini, Natale dalle Laste, Giuseppe and Daniele Farsetti, Sebastiano Crotta, Paolo Balbi, Niccolò Tron, and Gaspare Gozzi, and the heated arguments of Carlo Gozzi, Baretti, and Biagio Schiavo. In short the coffee-house,

[1] On the piazza alone in the eighteenth century there were, under the Procuratie Vecchie, the following cafés: the *Re di Francia*, the *Abbondanza*, *Pitt l'eroe*, the *Regina d'Ungheria*, the *Orfeo*, the *Redentore*, the *Coraggio*, the *Speranza*, the *Arco Celeste* and *Quadri* opened in 1775 by Giorgio Quadri of Corfù, who was the first to serve genuine Turkish coffee. Under the Procuratie Nuove were the *Angelo Custode*, the *Duca di Toscana*, the *Buon genio*, the *Doge*, the *Imperatore*, the *Imperatrice della Russia*, the *Tamerlano*, the *Fontana di Diana*, the *Dame Venete*, the *Aurora*, the *Piante d'oro*, the *Arabo*, the *Piastrelle*, the *Pace*, the *Venezia trionfante*, and *Florian*, opened in 1720 by Floriano Francesconi.

[2] *Elogio del Cane Tabacchino morto al Caffè del Ponte dell' Angelo il dì 27 aprile 1792. Opera di Onocefalo Cinoglosa* (Vincenzo Formaleoni) *adornà del ritratto dell' eroe*. Venezia, 1792. It is an impudent parody of Ubaldo Bregolini's oration on the death of Angelo Emo.

[3] In the *Caffè della Spaderia*, kept by Marco Ancillotto the supporters of the new ideas wished to open a reading-room with French books and papers. The Inquisitors sent their officer Cristofolo Cristofoli to tell the proprietor that he was to warn the first person who entered the room that he must appear before the Tribunal at once. The room was never opened.

piacer, delizia
De l'omo cittadin in varî tempi,[1]

came to be regarded as the home of every class, of every age, of every social rank. In the morning hours it was the resort of merchants, advocates, doctors, brokers, workmen, hucksters; in the afternoon and till late at night the idle population and the women gathered there; the rooms were low, modestly furnished, unadorned, without windows and badly lighted by a flickering lamp, but an air of elegance breathed through the gay and varied crowd of visitors, in graceful and many-coloured costume, which was broken up into noisy groups talking scandal or frivolities, while in the inner rooms the play was fast and furious. In Goldoni's picture of the piazzetta with its coffee-house, its barber's shop, and gaming-saloon, Don Marzio, that marvellous type of a backbiter, Ridolfo, the waiter who between his chatter and his coffee-pots finds time to play the moralist, Trappola, the malicious lacquey, Lisaura, the ballet-girl, with her train of protectors and suitors; Eugenio, the gambler and victim of sharpers, are drawn to the life. Teeming with all this varied animation of people who come and go, who discuss their own and others' affairs, who pursue their business or their pleasure or their vices, the *Bottega da caffè* of Goldoni, marvellously bright, sparkling, careless, is at once a landscape, an interior, a comedy; it is Canaletto, Longhi, and Goldoni himself rolled into one to give us a chapter of Venetian life in the eighteenth century.[2]

The learned haunted not only the coffee-house of *Menegazzo*, but also the booksellers' shops and the pharmacies. In some, for instance, at the sign of the *Morion* at San Francesco della Vigna, and at Mantovani's shop in the *calle larga* learned patricians, priests, academicians,

[1] Lamberti, *Quattro stagioni campestri e quattro citadine*, p. 14. Venezia, 1802.

[2] Masi, *Scelta di commedie di C. Goldoni*, I, 343. Firenze, 1897.

and lawyers met for conversation.[1] But satire did not spare the druggists who, wrapped in long gowns like the officers of the *Avvogadori*, sold their drugs with an air of importance and gave their advice to the monotonous cadence of the pestles with which their Friulan or Bergamasque apprentices pounded the drugs in bronze mortars. Some of these pharmacies were elegantly furnished with handsome fittings and beautiful earthenware jars, and all had their sign either carved in wood or of gilded iron.[2] Druggists too had the monopoly of snuff when the use of it became general at the opening of the seventeenth century. It was considered a remedy for many ills, especially for headache. In 1656 the government prohibited its use,[3] but after a few years not only withdrew the prohibition but put the sale of it to auction among wholesale merchants, and snuffing became a note of elegance even among the fair sex.

Fashionable youths were wont to haunt the shops of the barbers who in the Seicento still practised simple surgery, dressed wounds, and set bones; though in the next century they confined their attention to shaving beards and combing wigs. The hairdresser having access to the private chambers of the great came to spy on their secrets or acted as confidants to the ladies. The barber in his shop, while shaving Don Marzio, would exchange the gossip of the town, retail the last

[1] In the sixteenth century Dotti (*Satire*, cit., Part II, p. 52) records the pharmacies at the signs of the *Morion* and of the *Basilisk* and the shops of Sapio and Grappiglia, where *si formavano parlatorio*. Padre Sebastiano Stefani, the Carmelite, in his book entitled *Il Faro della fede*, etc. (Venezia, 1684), p. 93, says that among the most frequented meeting-places of his day was Mariani's pharmacy at the sign of the *Vigilanza* in the Piazza di San Marco, which was always crowded with persons of distinction in the world of letters or in the great world, and there you would hear choice compositions in prose or verse. Stefani concludes by saying that "in quella speziria famosissima sortì felicemente il suo natale l'illustre Accademia dei Paragonisti." Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 26.

[2] Dian, *Cenni storici sulla Farmacia Veneta*, cit., Part II, pp. 51, 52, Part III, pp. 10, 18.

[3] Arch. di Stato, Inquis. di Stato, March 21, 1656.

spicy story, serve up the latest scandal, repeat the newest joke, ever ready to satisfy the curiosity or the taste of his customer. Some of the barbers' shops were sumptuously fitted; at the middle of the Seicento the saloon of the Frenchman, Galibert,[1] under the Procuratie Nuove was renowned for its elegance; some offered an asylum to the light o' loves to whom the barber's prentices would cry: "Venga, venga padrona, che imparerà a fare la barba, benchè per pelare la ne saprà più di noialtri barbieri."

The populace had its meeting-places in the taverns, which were known under the designations of *magazzeni*, *bastioni*, *furatole*, and in the *malvasie*, where they sold sweet wines such as cyprus, eliatico-scopulo, Samos and other wines from the Greek islands as well as Malvasia from Epirus.[2] In the morning nobles, merchants, workmen, and gondoliers would flock to drink their glass of *malvasia* in the spacious wine shops, at the back of which were ranged the casks of varying sizes, while high upon the wall was a little tabernacle with an image in the niche and a light always burning before it; in the middle of the shop stood the counter.[3] In the evenings, on the ground floor of the *magazzeni* or *bastioni*, workmen of every description thronged round the long wooden tables and sat on the shaky benches with their *mezzo bocaleto*, or earthenware wine pot, in

[1] The barber Galibert was known as the *sultano dell' arte*, and set his price accordingly. Rossi (*Rac.*, cit., Vol. IX.) says: "Granted that the razors were of the best English make and light the hand that used them, that the napkins were of finest lawn edged with Flanders lace, that the soap and water were deliciously scented, still it is amazing that they should ask four lira a shave and yet never lack for custom." The ordinary pay was ten soldi.

[2] Malvasia, also known as *grechetto*, was of two kinds, sweet and dry. The latter was in great request among the Venetians, and was called by them *garba*. In Venice there are still bridges and streets called *della malvasia*. A certain Remedio who sold *malvasia* gave his name to a *calle* at Santa Maria Formosa. Tassini, *Curiosità*, cit., p. 615.

[3] In the eighteenth century the shops of the Rafai, Lazzeroni, Leporini, and Caravia enjoyed a great reputation.

front of them. During the Summer the taverns on the squares set their tables out of doors, and the workmen and gondoliers sat there drinking their wine and eating mutton ham (*castradina*).[1] These taverns were not used for the sale of wine exclusively. The people who did not care to apply to the State pawn shop (*Monte di Pietà*),[2] where loans were accompanied by many precautions, found easy but ruinous aid at a pinch in the taverners, to whom they would pawn their goods, drawing two-thirds in cash and one-third in vile wine, known as *vin da pegni*.[3] Still more modest were the so-called *furatole*,[4] a sort of pork-butcher's shop, where, however, the owners were forbidden to sell anything belonging to the sausage-maker's business. In the black and dingy *furatole* of an evening the lower classes would gather round the common table, on which were set out soup and fried fish. In Winter the milkmen's shops (*pestrini*) were also crowded with people who came to eat whipped cream and wafers (*storti*).

[1] The taverns were frequented at night by parties of citizens of the middle class. Antonio Longo in his *Memorie* (I, 212. Venezia, 1820) says: "La nostra allegra società radunavasi nell' inverno ogni sera in qualche osteria della città, e nell' estate in quelle della Giudecca, nelle quali, abbandonati gli spettacoli che suol recar in ogni stagione Venezia, ristringevasi ogni nostro piacere."

[2] The *Monte di Pietà* was open every day except on feast days. Jews, foreigners, children under fourteen, and employees of the Monte were not admitted to its benefits either in person or by proxy. The rate of interest was five per cent per annum. Benigna, *Memorie*, cit., p. 335.

[3] Boerio, *Diz.* s. v. *Magazzen.* See Lor. Da Ponte, *Memorie*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 51. *New York*, 1829.

[4] Boerio (*Diz.*) says that Gallicciolli in his *Memorie* is of opinion that the word *furatola* comes from *furare*, referring to the fraudulent sales that took place there. Boerio himself thinks that the government would never have permitted the application of so defamatory a name, and is inclined to derive the word from the barbarous *Furabula*, a corruption of *furvus*, meaning dark, — a quality characteristic of these shops, which were usually, in the remote parts of the city, low-roofed, mean, blackened by smoke. See Du Cange, s. v. *Furabula*.

CHAPTER VII

VILLAS AND VILLEGGIATURA — COUNTRY AMUSEMENTS

THE theatre, the Ridotto, and Carnival filled up a large part of the year; in Summer and Autumn the need for repose, considerations of health, and the prevailing fashion all rendered a visit to the country imperative. The summer *villeggiatura* began on the twelfth of June, the vigil of Sant' Antonio of Padua (*villeggiatura del Santo*), whose festival drew together great crowds, and ended with the close of July. The autumn *villeggiatura* lasted from October 4 to the middle of November and sometimes longer. At these stated periods the city became intolerable, every one felt the need for country air and the green fields, and then began a feverish bustle of departure. Venice was almost deserted, and a poet of the Seicento could say:

E San Marco è divenuto
San Francesco del deserto.[1]

Even the common people required their country outing, and every Monday in September they would make up their parties, *fragie*, *regolete*, and *garanghéli*, for the Lido, the poor man's *villeggiatura*; they spread their food on the grass facing the sea and feasted and made love light-heartedly. At other times a party would fit out a barge with Chinese lanterns and green

[1] Dotti, *Satire*, cit. (*L'autunno*), Part II, p. 163. Dotti is referring to the solitary island in the lagoon called San Francesco del deserto. Ballarini (*Lett.*, cit., October, 1781) says: "Tutti corrono alla campagna, ad esempio del Senato, che villeggia due mesi a tutto sangue."

boughs, and setting out in the morning for Fusina, Mestre, and Campalto, they would eat and drink and roam the fields, returning home at night in the lighted boat and waking the echoes of the lagoon with their song:

Per chiassar questo è 'l tempo
che se xe in libertà;
co le done se va
insieme fora;
co la so traverseta
su l'ora più frescheta
se se va a sbarbazzar,
e i guai se lassa andar
a la malora.
Là se xe in oto o diexe
pieni, za, de morbin
se impianta el so festin,
se fa el balèto.
Se no se vol balar
ghe xe altro da far:
se zioga, o in alegria
se se la passa via
col descorseto.
Le femene curiose
le se conduxe a spasso,
e se fa po del chiasso
su l'erbeta.[1]

All who could afford to spend a month or so in the country during the prescribed season put their whole families on board a gondola,[2] or one of the ferry-boats that plied from Venice to the mainland. The richer patrician families fitted up private barges of great beauty, but the public conveyances were also comfortable. There is record of the barge which daily made the journey from Padua down the Brenta, passing Dolo, and covering the twenty-five miles between Padua and Venice. The pace was slow, and *andar co la coriera e col*

[1] Malamani, *Il Settecento, La Musa Pop.*, cit. (*Il garanghélo*), p. 323.

[2] Coronelli (*Viaggi*, cit., p. 49) says: "In tutte l'hore di giorno e di notte vi sono in Canal Regio le Barche, che con Merci e Passeggeri partono per Mestre al prezzo di soldi dieci per testa, e di mezzo scudo d'argento pigliando espressa una gondola a due remiganti." The passage took an hour and a half.

THE BURCHIELLO — from an etching by Canaletto

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burchiello meant to crawl along; the passengers spent the time in gaming or telling stories. The Englishman Moryson, who in 1594 came to Venice via Fusina with the Paduan barge, tells us that this method of transport was very convenient, and that one found pleasant company on the way; he mentions a proverb which says that the boat would sink the day it had neither a friar, a student, nor a courtesan on board.[1] A patrician writer of the Seicento, Giovanni Sagredo, says that the little vessel "è una stanza mobile, un appartamento nuotante."[2] President De Brosses describes the *burchiello* which on July 28, 1739, took him from Padua to Venice and was called the *Bucintoro:* "Un fort petit enfant du vrai *Bucentaure*, mais aussi le plus joli enfant du monde, ressemblant fort en beau à nos diligences d'eau, et infiniment plus propre, composé d'une petite antichambre pour les valets, suivie d'une chambre tapissée de brocatelle de Venise, avec une table et deux estrades garnies de maroquin, et ouverte de huit croisées effectives et de deux portes vitrées."[3] Casanova, too, says: "Le burchiello peut être regardé comme une petite maison flottante. Il y a une salle avec un cabinet à chacun de ses bouts, et gite pour les domestiques à la proue et à la poupe; c'est un carré long à impériale, bordé de fenêtres vitrées avec de volets." The barge in which Goldoni made the journey from Pavia to Chioggia along with the secretary and majordomo of the Venetian Resident in Milan,[4] closely resembled the *burchiello* of the Brenta. The tedium of the journey was relieved by music and song. Towards evening the travellers mounted on the roof of the cabin and gave a concert

[1] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, Part II, p. 75. London, 1617.

[2] *L'Arcadia in Brenta overo la melanconia sbandita*, by Giovanni Sagredo, who hides himself under the anagram *Ginnesio Gavardo Vacalerio*, p. 2. Colonia, 1667.

[3] De Brosses, *Lettre* XIV.

[4] Goldoni, *Mém.*, Part I, Chap. XII, ed. Mazzoni. Firenze, 1907.

of three violins, a 'cello, a *corno da caccia*, and a guitar, and drew the attention of the people, who applauded from the banks. It may have been this episode of his youth which furnished Goldoni with the theme for a poem in dialect in which he says that he found himself one day

> . . . in barca da Padoa, o sia Burchiello,
> Che va via per la Brenta ogni mattina,

and gives a vivid description of the company touched in in a few lines; he sketches

> Una Mare . . . con do pute
> Che s'aveva logà in tel camerin;
> Per dir la verità le giera brute,
> Ma però le gaveva un bel sestin.
> Le stava là, che le pareva mute,
> Ma un zovene ghe fava de penin.
> La Mare (se le fie se divertiva)
> Stava col muso in sen, e la dormiva.[1]

In another less spontaneous poem in Italian octaves Goldoni describes the boat itself,

> . . . vaghissimo Naviglio
> Di specchi, e intagli, e di pitture ornato
> Che ogni venti minuti avanza un miglio,
> Da buon rimurchio, o da cavai tirato:
> In cui senza timor, senza periglio,
> A sedere, o a dormir può starsi agiato,
> Ed havvi uno stanzin per ordinario,
> Con quel, che alle bisogne è necessario.

Many patrician villas stood close to the rivers or on the convenient great main-road, the Terraglio, leading to Treviso, or on the outskirts of some town, which made access easy; but others rose in the middle of the country, cut off from all communications, and the noble owners, after disembarking from their barges amid a great display of liveries, mounted their huge coaches blazoned with their arms, and took their way down roads so bad that they often had to be drawn by oxen.

[1] Goldoni, *Componimenti diversi*, I, 124. Venezia, 1764.

The new villas were built with all the ancient splendour; and in the Seicento Baldassare Longhena at Roverè on the Callalta in the Trivigiano, constructed for the Da Lezze family the splendid house with its ample staircases and loggias, borne on columns, with its halls adorned with statues and stuccoes, with its profusion of marbles, its delightful gardens, its fish ponds and pools, its long rows of citron houses and porticoes.[1] Like many others, this noble villa was rased to the ground in the last century. There is another villa, of the seventeenth century, still existing though much altered. It belongs to the Albrizzi and stands on the Terraglio. It was built by the Trevisan architect, Andrea Pagnossin, and its gardens are well laid out. Here, towards the close of the Republic, Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi passed many quiet days. The villas of the Cinquecento were gradually changed to meet the needs of the new age; the ancient scheme of decoration gave place to the new art, which dominated the entire building, from the galleries and magnificent halls to the kitchens entirely lined with beautiful plates and the ceilings painted with flowers.[2] The palace built by Andrea Palladio for the Contarini at Piazzòla, ten miles from Padua, was transformed and enlarged, after the middle of the seventeenth century, by Marco Contarini, Procurator of San Marco (b. 1631, d. 1689), who overlaid the noble and simple lines of the original building with redundant ornamentation. The main block contained eighty rooms, several great halls and spacious galleries, and vast porticoes which opened along the façade, adorned with columns and statues. In one of the rooms, called *degli istromenti*, was a library of music, including the works of the best masters of

[1] Crico, *Lettere sulle B. A. trevigiane*, p. 313.

[2] Speaking of a patrician villa, the author of *Arcadia in Brenta* says: "Ma non vi fu cosa che più rapisse la curiosità . . . che la cucina guarnita di piatti di Costantinopoli, col soffitto dipinto a fiori, e che da ogni parte spirava leggiadria e condiva le curiosità."

the day, and a valuable collection of spinets, painted or inlaid, violins, harps, and psalteries.[1] By the side of the palace rose a church with five organs, two theatres, a printing-press, and a conservatory of music, styled the *Luoco delle Vergini*, where Contarini caused thirty-eight poor maidens to be instructed in music and in embroidery.[2] If a current calumny speaks truth, his Excellency sought other diversions than art in the *Luoco delle Vergini*.

In the Seicento, and more especially in the Settecento, the villas of the patricians were richer inside than out, differing in this from the villas of the Cinquecento with their great porticoes and severe orders, where the interior was frequently sacrificed to the elevation.[3] For instance, the Villa Rezzonico, near Bassano, built in the early years of the eighteenth century, though surrounded by stables, coach-houses, granaries with noble loggias and porticoes, has a main dwelling-house of a remarkably plain exterior, while the interior is richly adorned with stuccoes, oil-paintings, and frescoes, and the architecture itself is fantastic and scenographic in the huge entrance hall, the magnificent grand staircase, and the highly decorated chambers.[4] Even in the Settecento, however, they still built villas which in their exteriors continued to display the ancient regal splendour; for example, the sumptuous villa of the

[1] Wiel, *I codici contariniani illustrati*. Venezia, 1888. Jacques Chassebras de Cramailles, the adventurer who ended his days in the Bastille, records in the *Mercure galant*, under February, 1681, that at Piazzòla there were *tous les opéras qui ont été vus jusqu'à présent, soit à Venise ou ailleurs*. The original catalogue of the Codices Contariniani bequeathed to the Marciana by Girolamo Contarini in 1843 states that they belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; on the contrary, they all belong to the seventeenth, and were all collected by Marco Contarini. He was the founder of the collection, by him alone it was enriched, and after his death it was placed in the family archives and received no additions.

[2] Camerini, *Piazzòla*. Padova, 1902.

[3] Boito, *Gli stucchi di Ca' Rezzonico*, etc., in *Arte Italiana*. Bergamo, May, 1906.

[4] Ibid.

VILLA MANIN AT PASSERIANO

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Manins at Passeriano in Friuli, and that still more grandiose structure the Pisani Villa at Strà, built from designs by Girolamo Frigimelica, modified by Francesco Maria Preti, of Castelfranco. The imposing main façade spreads along the banks of the Brenta. On the ground floor two cortiles open out; they are decorated by the Milanese painter Visconti; vast corridors lead through the palace into the park, which is closed at the further limit by other handsome buildings for the stables and greenhouses. The chambers of the villa were regally furnished, and the walls and ceilings were decorated by such ingenious artists as Guarana, Amigoni, Novelli, and Rizzi, while Giambattista Tiepolo painted the ceiling of the ball-room with the magnificent composition representing the "Glory of the Patrician Family of Pisani."

The taste of the time is more apparent in the gardens than in the architecture of the villas, which, though marked by the caprice of the Seicento, still followed, in the main, the lines of Sansovino and Palladio. These gardens were symmetrical and uniform; the artificial reigned supreme and made itself felt everywhere; artifice alone awoke admiration; whatever was simple and natural appeared vulgar; all adornment was farded, niggling, and debased. The water gleamed in artificial rivulets and cascades, in grottoes and dark recesses covered with moss; it fell in sparkling jets into large conchs, bathing statues, tritons, and sea-horses; it opened out into fish-ponds and little lakes, set among rock work encrusted with shells, surrounded by statues reflected in the liquid mirror on whose bosom floated stately swans. The greenhouses were full of flowers and citrons; the alleys were laid out in regular compartments; there were hedges of myrtle, and bushes of box and yew cut into the form of vases, cones, spheres, arches, pyramids, boats, animals; pleached alleys led to shady retreats, and long paths of hornbeam lost

themselves in labyrinths of greenery.[1] Aviaries contained eagles, pheasants, and a hundred other birds; in fenced enclosures were stags, roe deer, wild goats, and even bears.

The patricians spared no sums to render their country-seats delightful, though their affection for the country was more of a caprice and a convention than a real passion. That strong and healthy emotion which the country stirred in the hearts of the men of the Cinquecento was gradually dissolved in artificial sentimentality. The Academy of the Arcadians was not yet erected, but its spirit and its forms were already alive. You cannot

[1] In the seventeenth century Ivanovich (*Minerva al tavolino*, I, 199) describes the Villa Pesaro at Preganziol, with its garden full of flowers, its vineyard laid out in a pattern round a great fountain, the alleys of citron and laurel. There were gardens in the style of the Settecento attached to the Pisani Villa at Strà, the Quirini Villa at Altichiero, the Barbarigo Villa at Valsanzibio, now belonging to the Donà, the Manin Villa at Passeriano, the Zenobio Villa at Santa Bona, the Contarini and Foscarini villas at Mira, the Baglioni Villa at Massanzago, and so on. The Barbarigo garden at Valsanzibio was famous for its waterworks and fountains; an anonymous poet (*Sopra il viaggio fatto da Padova alla villa di Valsanzibio colla N. D. Contarina Barbarigo*, p. 18. Venezia, 1718) says:

> Oh! qual d'acque contrasto e quai diversi
> Ordini opposti e opposti giri, e il pronto
> Arrestarsi dell' acque e il cader pronto,
> Lo scherzar vario, il serpeggiar industre.

The park of the Villa Quirini at Altichiero near Padua was adorned with busts, statues, sarcophagi, altars, grottoes, Egyptian idols, Chinese pagodas, Roman temples, and the *colonna d'infamia* which used to mark the site of Bajamonte Tiepolo's house in Venice. [Comtesse de Rosemberg], *Alticchiero*. Padoue, 1787. The patrician Filippo Farsetti spent upwards of a million of ducats of silver on his villa of Sala, rich in precious marbles and antique statuary, and on the gardens, which contained specimens of the rarest plants. See *Lettere* of P. Boscovich, published per nozze Olivieri-Balbi. Venezia, tip. Pinelli, 1811. Carlo Goldoni (*Componimenti diversi*, cit., I, 173, describes the Villa Baglioni at Massanzago:

> . . . sta Casa ga in campagna
> Una delizia, detta Massanzago;
> In Italia, in Germania, in Franza, in Spagna
> Forsi un logo no gh'è più ameno e vago,
> Mi almanco no go visto la compagna
> Ai viali, ai verdi, alle cedrere, al lago.

VILLA PISANI AT STRÀ

Photo by Alinari

find even in the poetry of this period a single genuine note of love for nature; the poets played with commonplace images and conceits to which they gave a lackadaisical and languorous expression. A few verses of a Venetian poet of the Seicento, Giambattista Bertanni, will give us an idea of these artificial idyls:

Ridono i prati e i colli
Co' suoi vaghi fioretti,
Lusingando cortesi
Cantano gli augeletti
De la sua libertà lo sciolto nodo
Lieto mostrando, garruli e vezzosi;
E l'amorose gioie
Sfogano tra le foglie e le alte frondi
De' vestiti arboscelli.
Ogni fior, ogni herbetta
Porgendo grato odor a l'aure intorno
Sta nel suo campo lieta
Al primo aurato raggio
Ch'a noi chiaro conduce il vago giorno.
Nè ritornata a pena
Si vede al gran balcon la donna altera
Da le morbide piume
Dal suo vago Titon ridente uscita,
Che da l'humide grotte
E da fangosi alberghi
Parte per salutarla
Ogni animal, ed ogni fera e mostro.[1]

In truth, Bertanni seems to be the precursor of Jacopo Vittorelli, who, a century later, sang the sweet reawakening of Spring in such languid and decadent verses as these:

Ecco ritorna il mese
  Diletto a Citerea,
  Che suscita e ricrea,
  La valle, il monte e il pian.
Qual casta verginella
  Rosseggia fra l'erbetta
  La vaga mammoletta,
  E sbuccia il tulipan.
Verdeggia a poco a poco

[1] Bertanni, *I Tormenti amorosi*, a pastoral fable, represented in Padua by the Academy of the Disuniti in 1641, p. 13. Padova, 1641.

La squallida foresta,
E il praticello desta
Mill' erbe e mille fior.[1]

The feeling for nature rings truer in some of the painters of this period. The passion for landscape, so intense and vigorous in Titian and other Cinquecentisti, languished in their obscure successors of the seventeenth century, like the Venetian Biagio Lombardo and the Veronese Girolamo Vernigo, but came to life again with Luca Carlevaris, Marco Rizzi, nephew of Sebastiano, Giuseppe Zaïs, and more especially in Canaletto, Guardi, and Bellotto. The secret voices of nature, however, roused no responsive echo in the hearts of those indolent *viveurs* who in obedience merely to fashion and habit spent some months of the year in the country. The freedom of country life was not sought as a recreation for mind and body. At Venice they published, it is true, the wise counsel of the Bolognese Vincenzo Tanara, but few read and hardly any followed them. Tanara preached the temperate delights of villa life, the fascinations of husbandry, the pleasure of cultivating one's garden with one's own hands,[2] but few there were who gave a single thought to the harvest or to the irrigation of their meadows, and most of them returned to Venice without so much as having seen the fruit hanging from the bough or ever looking at a cluster of grapes.[3] The pleasures of the chase, which the Venetians of the Cinquecento loved and pursued among the distant forests and mountains of Dalmatia and Istria,[4] had few attractions for their descendants. The young bloods still went in large parties of courtesans, friends, and hangers-on, to shoot in the fishing-grounds of the estuary; but for the most part they left the

[1] Vittorelli, *Rime*, p. 135. Bassano, 1784.
[2] Tanara, *L'economia del cittadino in villa*. Venetia, 1674.
[3] Lamberti, *Mem.*, II, 36. Lamberti also describes the habits of the *villeggiatura* in the *Giornate cittadin. e camp.*, cit.
[4] Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 454.

(A)

(B)

PARK OF THE VILLA MANIN. A — Parnassus, with Statues of the Nine Muses and Pegasus. B — The Rape of Proserpina

trouble of shooting duck and water-fowl to their servants, while they retired to the handsomely furnished shooting-lodges to eat and drink and amuse themselves. They preferred fowling with the net, bird lime, and the decoy, to the arduous chase of the wild boar and roe.

The life of the patrician in his villa was a round of trivialities and frivolities. The conventional pastimes of the sixteenth century became more mannered and artificial in the Seicento. Sagredo's *Arcadia in Brenta* gives us a good picture of these country diversions. Three fair ladies, Marina, Rosana, and Laura, with three dashing young men, Silvio, Giacinto, and Foresto, leave Venice for a few days' sojourn in a villa on the Brenta. The party settle themselves in an arbour, covered with greenery to exclude the sun but open to the breeze, and begin telling loose tales and piquant stories, singing love ditties, and exchanging amorous madrigals and suggestive jokes; they set each other riddles and conundrums, and paid a forfeit if they could not answer. Then, leaving the shady grove, they retired into the house and carried on the game there. In the so-called *Stanza dell' oracolo*[1] there was a picture of Apollo with these verses underneath it:

Pria che di moglie ponerti al periglio
Dell' Oracolo prendi il buon consiglio.

Accordingly one of the young men played the part of the Oracle and uttered these saws: "If fair — beware"; "If plain — much pain"; "If rich — insolent"; "If poor — a beggar"; "If learned — she 'll rule"; "If ignorant — she 'll squander"; "If young — she'll spend"; "If old — she 'll hamper you," and wound up with the advice to choose a small wife, since it is wiser of evils to choose the least. Then came the turn of the women; and they uttered the following

[1] We may recall the *Sibillone* of the Arcadian academy.

advice on the choice of a husband: "If young — a rover"; "If middle-aged — jealous"; "If old — impotent"; "If handsome — for others"; "If ugly — repellent"; "If learned — impertinent"; "If ignorant — intractable"; "If rich — a miser"; "If poor — you 'll starve;" "If hasty — a tyrant," and ended up with this distich:

Chi vuol marito, ed haver pace seco,
Lo prenda muto e cieco.

In another chamber was painted a bouquet of flowers with a hyacinth (*giacinto*) with this rather feeble pun written on it:

Perchè tenermi con quei nodi avvinto
Perchè cingermi più se son *Già cinto*?

Under a bunch of peppermint (*menta*) ran these lines:

Che val dir t'amo, e far ch'ognuno il senta
S'a pena detto, convien poi ch'io *menta*.

Such verses and such paintings gave an opening to puns and riddles which naturally turned on the topic of love[1] and helped love-making. Then followed all sorts of practical jokes, to which these light-hearted creatures were passionately devoted, and the victims were their more innocent or slow-witted guests. This habit of practical joking was ingrained in the manners of the time; it was thought diverting to put dead rats or frogs in your guests' beds, to sweeten the coffee with salt, to shrink the underflannels so that the victim could not get into them in the morning, and a thousand other tricks of doubtful taste, described in the novels of the day. Sagredo's book supplies further examples. For instance, there joined the party on the Brenta a certain Ser Fabrizio, a funny, fat, puffy man and a great eater; he instantly became the butt of the

[1] *Arcadia in Brenta*, cit., pp. 65 et seq.

company. One night at supper they gave him to understand that the villa was haunted by phantasms and spectres. Fabrizio, laughing, said that for bodily spirits he had a good pair of pistols ready, and as for incorporeal spirits he did not believe in them. But when the good man got to bed his courage began to ooze away, and presently, after he had put out the light, he felt the sheets being gently lifted from the couch; they were drawn up by fish-hooks fastened to threads which passed through little holes bored in the ceiling. Fabrizio fell to mumbling prayers and commending himself to God, but his terror increased when the bed itself began to rise and fall. The others, bent on frightening him still further, gently opened the door and introduced into the room a number of crayfish, each with a little taper lighted on its back; these crawled about the room, to the horror of Ser Fabrizio, who came to the conclusion that the chamber really was haunted. He set himself to shout for aid in such a piteous voice that the rest had compassion on him, and fearing lest his terror should bring on convulsions, they took him into another room, where he managed to get some sleep.

Another writer of the Seicento, Girolamo Brusoni of Legnago, takes us to the Sile instead of the Brenta. Among his romances is one called *Il Carrozzino alla moda*,[1] in which he describes the life in a villa on that depressing plain near Altino, amid the desolate swamps and marshes where once stood the flourishing cities of Roman Venetia. The gloomy palace of Panfilo is in keeping with its melancholy surroundings, where the peasant's spade turns up now and then a ruined tomb or a mutilated statue, all that has survived a huge disaster. One of Panfilo's guests is Glisomiro, *il più capriccioso cavaliere del mondo*, just arrived from Friuli,

[1] Brusoni, *Il carrozzino alla moda*. Venetia, 1658.

along with Lauretta, in a carriage of his own invention. The conversation turns on Glisomiro's love affairs, interlarded with tedious academic disquisitions and military exploits. Life at Altino varies between boredom and looseness, and is very different from that described by Sagredo on the Brenta, and indeed from the average note of Venetian life in the country.

But there were quieter and more modest ways of passing the time than in feasting and love-making. Sometimes the whole family on a wet evening would play at *oca*, refreshing themselves with roasted chestnuts and new wine. At other times, if the evening were fine, before settling down to conversation, the guests would be taken to the stables, where the peasants sat spinning, and some old woman would tell them marvellous tales of fairies and witches; or the peasants would break into some simple country song to the accompaniment of a lute or more frequently of a jews'-harp, to the delight of all the company.[1] The ladies, too, did not fail to play at the pastoral life, and would go a-milking, and dancing on the green, and would eat the steaming *polenta* in the open air.[2] The great ladies masqueraded as shepherdesses in smocks and country costumes whose studied simplicity heightened their charms. The three ladies of Sagredo's story were dressed in most attractive garments in their setting of green and quiet fields; "they wore," says Sagredo, "dresses of finest white lawn trimmed with flame-coloured ribbons; one would say that in order to moderate the flame of their beauty they draped themselves in driven snow, such was the

[1] Renier-Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziane*, cit., V, 140. The authoress set herself to write on the pleasures of the *villeggiatura* in the seventeenth century, because, as she says, *il nostro immortale Goldoni . . . compose tre commedie . . . sulle moderne villeggiature, ma nessuna ne scrisse sulle antiche.*

[2] The most charming description of the way to make *polenta* is to be found in Baldi's *Versi e prose*, Eclogue XV, p. 25. Venetia, 1590. And *polenta* was in high esteem throughout the Settecento. Zaniboni, *Viaggio del Goethe*, p. 40, n. 2. Napoli, 1907.

purity of the linen which they wore."[1] We are in the Seicento, and the turgid sentiment of the period already betrays that affected simplicity which was to triumph with the Arcadians.

Much time was devoted to music and theatricals and dancing, but, above all, to gaming and feasting. The gaming-tables were crowded, and the dining-table was always laid for guests, who would arrive without warning, in bands of friends and professional hangers-on, — *volteggiatori*, as Lamberti calls them, — who spent their time in wandering from one dining-room to another.[2] The nobles sometimes vied with each other as to who would give the most costly and succulent banquets, to the great benefit of doctors and apothecaries.[3] Goldoni has left us the following description of the hospitality of the patrician Lodovico Widmann in his villa of Bagnoli:

El paron generoso accoglie tuti
Con trattamento nobile e cortese,
E ho godesto anca mi de sti bei fruti.
L'anno passà son stà a Bagnoli un mese;
A no lodar bisogneria esser muti
Le gran tole, i gran spassi e le gran spese;
Ma quel che più de tuto fa stupor
Del paron de la casa el gran buon cuor.

Tuti gode un'intiera libertà,
Dorme chi vol dormir, magna chi ha fame,
Balla chi vol ballar, canta chi sa,
Chi va solo in zardin, chi cole dame,
Chi a sie cavalli strascinar se fa,
Chi visita le razze e chi el bestiame,
Chi zoga al tavolin la note e 'l dì.[4]

[1] *Arcadia in Brenta*, cit., p. 62.

[2] We find a type of this vulgar sponger in Goldoni's *Villeggiatura*, where *Don Ciccio*, a species of Harlequin taken from the old *commedia dell' arte*, professes his dedication to the table (*La Villeggiatura*, Act II, sc. xi.). We have another sponger in *Ferdinando* in the *Smanie della Villeggiatura*, who is never at a loss for an invitation and dismisses one host merely to take on another. Goldoni has written four comedies on this theme, *La villeggiatura* and the famous trilogy, *Le Smanie*, *Le Avventure*, and *Il ritorno dalle villeggiatura*, which were acted in the years 1761, 1762, and 1763.

[3] Longo, *Memorie*, cit., I, 81, 90.

[4] Goldoni, *Componimenti*, cit., p. 195. In the *Mémoires* (Part II, Chap. XXVI) Goldoni again speaks of Bagnoli and the theatrical performances

The entertainments which the patricians gave on special occasions at their country places sometimes exceeded in splendour the famous *fêtes* in the palaces of Venice. For example, in the Seicento the Procurator Marco Contarini gave a series of simply amazing theatrical performances in his villa at Piazzòla. In November, 1679, Dr. Piccioli's drama, *Le Amazzoni nelle isole Fortunate*, set to music by Carlo Pallavicino, was put on the stage; and the following year and in the same month the *Berenice vendicativa*, set to music by Domenico Freschi. Invitations were issued to princes, both foreign and Italian, to ambassadors, nobles, Venetian ladies and gentlemen of the mainland.[1] The hall was capable of holding a thousand persons, and was lit with wax candles; the boxes were adorned with gilded stucco and mirrors, while on each side of the stage stood two great statues of elephants. The curtain was of crimson velvet with gold lace for the first performance and of gold-coloured velvet for the second. When the curtain rose, all the lights were extinguished in the hall, and the stage alone appeared brilliantly illuminated. There were three hundred performers, and coaches, triumphal cars, and as many as one hundred horses crowded the stage.[2] Dr. Piccioli, a dependant of Contarini, has described with great minutiæ the splendid *fêtes* given at Piazzòla on August 7, 1685, in honour of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick.

there. On the topic of Venetian *villeggiatura* see the Baron de Poellnitz (*Lettres et Mém.*, II, 97. Frankfort, 1738: "C'est à ces maisons de campagne qu'il faut voir les Vénitiens: ils sont tout autres que dans la Ville; ils s'y dépouillent de cet air grave et sérieux qu'ils affectent; ils sont sociables, civils et honnêtes, et vivent avec plus d'éclat. Comme ces maisons de campagne sont voisines, les Seigneurs à qui elles appartiennent se visitent beaucoup, et on est presque toujours ensemble."

[1] The Tuscan Resident, M. del Teglia, in his letters of the 2d and 9th November, 1680, speaks of the opera which "il Proc. Contarini dovrà far recitare nel suo delizioso luogo di Piazzòla e del concorso della Nobiltà che faceva a gara di portarvisi colle maggiori ostentazioni di pompe." Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Lett. dei Resid.*, cit., file 3041, foll. 286, 291.

[2] Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, cit.

SHAM NAVAL BATTLE at Piazzòla in Honour
of the Duke of Brunswick

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Piccioli's little work is divided into various sections. In the first (*L'orologio del Piacere*) the author describes the arrival of the Duke. Contarini went as far as San Martino on the Brenta to meet his illustrious guest, who crossed the river in a barge, and then, followed by a great retinue, mounted the coach and made for Piazzòla, where he was received under triumphal arches, while forty Swiss Guards, in red and green, and as many carabineers were drawn up in the entrance hall. In another part of the book Piccioli prints a list of the cantatas and serenades given on this occasion (*Il Vaticinio della Fortuna, La Schiavitù fortunata di Nettuno, Il Rittratto della gloria, Il Preludio felice, Il Merito acclamato*), and describes the *fêtes* which occupied the three days of the Duke's stay at Piazzòla. On the wide canals round the palace was an imitation of the Bucintoro, on which supper was served to the sound of music; Neptune and other deities were borne about on sea monsters, from whose open mouths spurted scented waters. The splendours of the palace amazed the Duke, who paid a visit to the musical library, the collection of instruments, the Conservatory, the printing-press, the church, and the theatres. At the close of a great banquet there descended from the ceiling the representation of some monster of the air; it moved its head, claws, and tail, and came forward on its wings till it reached the middle of the hall, and was "a wonderful sight to see." There was a sham naval fight, too, between the Venetian and the Turkish galleys, races of barebacked horses, concerts, balls, serenades, and other brave shows.[1] For many years to come Piazzòla was still the scene of revelry; a rare little book

[1] "L'orologio del Piacere, che mostra l'ore del dilettevole soggiorno hauto dall' altezza Serenissima Don Ernesto Augusto vescovo d'Osnabruc, Duca di Brunsuich, Luneburgo, etc. nel luoco di Piazzola di S. E. il Signor Marco Contarini, procuratore di San Marco consacrato all' A. S. dalla Medemma Ecc. Del dr. Piccioli. In Piazzola, 1685. Nel Luoco delle Vergini."

preserves the following description of a sort of *naumachia* or sea-fight, carried out on the great fish-ponds of the villa. "I arrived at Piazzòla," says the author, "about half-past four, and found the great lake all lit up and with the Bucintoro in the middle of it with its velvet draperies and its coat of arms. I entered the palace and found twenty chambers all furnished regally. I went on board the Bucintoro with many nobles; towards the lake was a garden, where a number of girls were singing a serenade. The conductor was Don Paolo, Master of the *Conservatoire* at the Ospedaletto; he saw me and beckoned me into the choir; they numbered upwards of thirty-six, with a great variety of instruments. After that two ships appeared, followed by two others covered with stucco; and they fought, and the stucco-covered ships were forced on shore. In the Bucintoro was a sunk place, very deep, all set round with an infinite display of silver bowls; in it was an orchestra of twenty-four, with trumpets and other instruments, who played up to one o'clock in the morning."[1]

In some respects the luxury of the country exceeded the luxury in the city. The gondola, for example, had assumed a fixed and unvarying form and colour, but coaches, berlins, sedan-chairs, with their carving and gilding, and the liveries of coachmen and lacqueys offered an ample field for display. Coaches which were built sometimes in Venice itself were richly carved, painted with coats of arms and figures and gilded. They were lined with velvet and damask.[2] The

[1] *Enciclopedia morale e civile della vita e costumi ed impegni di religione dell' abate Antonio Olivieri.* Cosmopoli, 1724.

[2] The private archives of the Mocenigo family. *Contratto e conti relativi per il N. H. Leonardo Dolfino podestà e capitano di Brescia* (February 13, 1778). There were coach-builders in Venice, and several streets took their name from that industry. An engraving by Marieschi shows us the *campo* of the Frari with a coach in the corner. The *carozzeri* were erected into a guild along with the *seleri*, *tapezzieri*, and *bolzeri*, or trunk-makers.

calashes with two wheels and long shafts, the sedan-chairs and sledges,[1] which were sometimes required if the stay in the country was prolonged to November, when snow fell,[2] all were elaborately adorned like the coaches. Liveries were a mass of braid, gilt buttons, feathers, plumes, and streamers. On great occasions they would sometimes use eight horses whose harness had bosses, rosettes, and buckles of gold, the cruppers, collars, and head-gear of velvet, silk, or crimson damask of the brightest hue.[3]

All this display of splendour dazzled the country folk, but at the same time inspired a sentiment of respectful regard towards the patricians, whose affability rendered the social inequality endurable and whose prodigality did not confine itself to their own sumptuous houses, but reached the dwellings of the poor. Gaspare Gozzi says: "Fioccavano i rinfreschi e la civiltà da tutte le parti: i signori gettavano al popolo denaro e gran quantità di pane e di vino." But in the castles of Friuli and the Bresciano the last lingering traces of feudalism still struggled for existence; the little lords of the mainland, dissolute and cruel, like the Friulan Lucio della Torre and the Brescian Alemanno Gambara, acquired a terrible name for their crimes and their tyranny. The peasantry, *le pecorelle della giurisdizione*, began to lose patience under their wrongs, and, as Goldoni aptly puts it, were ready to pay their rents *in monede de legno*.[4] On the other hand, the respectful affection of the people accompanied and surrounded many a Venetian patrician in the exercise of his feudal

[1] In the Colleoni Castle at Thiene, near Vicenza, there is a very handsome sledge said to have been carved by Brustolon.

[2] "Si sta in campagna col freddo e si vedono seccar le foglie sugli alberi," says *Filippo*, in the *Smanie per la villeggiatura*, Act I, sc. ix.

[3] In the accounts of the N. H. Dolfin (Arch. Mocenigo) already quoted, there is an order (March 17, 1778) for *un finimento da tiro nobile di otto cavalli, di damaschino cremese del più vivo colore*.

[4] *Il Feudatario*, a prose comedy in three acts.

jurisdiction; for example, Piero Mocenigo, Count of Cordignano, who in his castle of Belvedere bestowed a loving care on the good government of his county, as we may gather from his *Carta di regola*, or by-laws, published in 1763,[1] wherein he lays down the regulations for the sound administration of the community and of its pious foundations, and drew up tariffs of wages, etc.[2] The peace of Belvedere was broken by sounds of revelry in the vast hall on the ground floor, adorned with busts of Doges and Dogaresse, and the great staircase was thronged by a host of dependants, when Count Piero welcomed his brother Alvise — elected Doge in 1764 — and his wife Pisana Cornèr, who had come out for the *villeggiatura*. The first time the new Doge paid a visit to the villa, the people of Cordignano — the neighbouring village under the Mocenigo's jurisdiction — went to meet his Serenity as far as Conegliano, and the ducal carriage passed through the countryside to the sound of joy-bells. The people of Cordignano intended to let off mortars, but the Doge's chaplain had given orders not to do so, *per timore che potessero disturbare li cavalli*.[3] The Doge's daughter-in-law, Polissena Contarini da Mula, was also present at Belvedere, and the days passed in banquets, feasts, and theatricals and a perpetual movement of guests, among whom we find the two brothers Gaspare and Carlo Gozzi. Carlo, who was not easy to please, wrote to a friend on November 4, 1780: "Iersera giunsi a Vicinale dalla villa Mocenigo a Belvedere col fratello. Fra le più deliziose vedute e le più gentili e cortesi maniere dovei fermarmi sei giorni co' cavalieri e le dame."[4]

The love of luxury and display is infectious, and not

[1] Venezia, tip. Lovisa.

[2] Stefani, *Cordignano e i suoi signori*, p. 42, per nozze Cays de Pierlas-Mocenigo. Venezia, 1884.

[3] Arch. priv. Mocenigo, *Lett. del cappellano ducale*, cit. (September, 1773.)

[4] Arch. priv. Gozzi, *Lettere a Raffaele Todeschini a Venezia*.

only the middle class but also the lower classes tried to copy the nobles. All except the very poor and the working classes wished to possess a house in the country. The favourite places were the neighbourhood of Mestre, the Terraglio of Treviso, but, above all, the banks of the Brenta. The author of *Arcadia in Brenta* speaks of this "delightful and placid stream, whose banks are adorned by noble palaces"; and another writer of the Seicento, Dotti, says:

> Vi si mirano i palazzi
> De' signori venerandi
> E i casini di quei pazzi
> Che si mischiano fra i Grandi.[1]

In the following century Costantini declares that many merchants who though *avezzi a continui conteggi poco sapevano fare i propri conti*, spent as much as twenty or thirty thousand crowns on building a villa, and that without including furniture and fittings, or taking note of horses, coaches, liveries, balls, routs, entertainments, and banquets, which ended in quickly sending the great of the country back to the city as paupers. The disproportion between expenditure and income soon produced its fatal effects, and the return to town was accompanied by the *deliziosi frutti* of bills to pay, summonses, and distraints.[2] "I am not

[1] Dotti, *Sat.*, cit. (*a S. E. Marco Bembo*), Part II, p. 68. The abbé Giovanni Andres wrote to his brother Carlo: "No te puedes figurar que delicia sea correr por aquella amenísima ribera de la Brenta." Andres, *Cartas familiares*, III, 246. Madrid, 1790.

[2] Goldoni, *Le smanie per la villeggiatura*, Act I, sc. i, and *Il ritorno dalla villeggiatura*, Act I, sc. ii. In the former comedy (Act II, sc. i) Vittoria, who is the most eager for the *villeggiatura*, answers the old domestic who counsels economy in these terms: "Vitt. Mio fratello dunque va in precipizio? Paolo. Se non ci rimedia. Vitt. E come avrebbe da rimediarci? Paolo. Regolar le spese, cambiar sistema di vivere, abbandonare sopra tutto la villeggiatura. Vitt. Abbandonare la villeggiatura? Si vede bene che siete un uomo da niente. Ristringa le spese in casa; scemi la tavola in città; minori la servitù, le dia meno salario. Si vesta con meno sfarzo, risparmi quel che si getta a Livorno (i. e. Venice). Ma la villeggiatura si deve fare, e ha da essere da par nostro, grandiosa

exaggerating," says Costantini; "there are people who spend three hundred crowns on sugar, coffee, and chocolate alone in a single month of *villeggiatura*." The middle class and the merchants who dared not ape the nobility when in Venice for fear of ridicule or the sumptuary officers, when they got into the country at once gave themselves the airs of great personages.[1] Dotti, in his quaint language, lashes the folly of those who in Venice measured out cloth and sold cheeses over the counter, but in the country came out,

> Tutta ricci la perrucca,
> Tutta merli la camisa,
> Calza inglese, e scarpa mucca,
> E 'l giuppon ganzo a divisa:
> Bel bastone, buon anello,
> Spada lustra, guanti bianchi,
> Gioie al collo ed al cappello,
> Con la graffa di diamanti.[2]

The women too changed their dresses, which were *sempre più strepitosi*, three or four times a day,[3] and everywhere the habits of daily life in the country were modelled on the life of the nobles, though the imitation usually showed a certain vulgarity of taste and missed the *finesse* and the grand manner of the nobility. One rose after midday, and after the inevitable chocolate came a stroll in the garden; then some time at the gaming-tables till the dinner hour arrived; after dinner a siesta, and then coffee and visits; in the evening a turn in the carriage down dusty roads crowded with pedlers, mountebanks, and strolling minstrels[4]; they would halt at the cafés in the neighbouring villages, "and there," says Lamberti, "the ladies, fair and ugly, graceful or

secondo il solito, e con la solita proprietà." Goldoni, in his *Mémoires* (Part II, Chap. XXVI), declares that mania for the *villeggiatura* "fait de la campagne une affaire de luxe plutôt qu'une partie de plaisir." See also G. Gozzi's sermon *Sul villeggiare* (op. cit., XI, 365).

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., XIII, 35 et seq.

[2] Dotti, *Sat.*, cit., Part II, p. 76.

[3] Costantini, loc. cit.

[4] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., II, 33.

clumsy, showed themselves off, flirted, played havoc with hearts, or sometimes exposed themselves to ridicule. The company chattered, made love, told the latest story of gallantry, but the larger number sat down to play."[1] Late at night they returned home, and then began the *conversazione*, enlivened with frivolous jests,[2] whisperings, love-making, and general inanity.[3] In the music-room they listened to the soft airs so popular at that date; gaming-tables were laid out in another chamber, where faro and *bassetta* made the sequins fly; the buffet stood in still another chamber; every one moved about as they pleased, and the mistress of the house went round to the guests offering them baskets of fruit.[4] "And so," says Goldoni,[5] "with the help of our dear little faro we would see the day in." Gaspare Gozzi, however, passed his days in quieter fashion in his villa of Vicinale in Friuli, strolling along the banks of the Noncello, once so dear to Navagero, or feeding his poultry, and openly declares that he envied not the *gloriosa e magnifica Brenta*.[6]

[1] Lamberti, loc. cit.

[2] At these *conversazioni*, which Goldoni calls *di maggior impegno* (*Smanie*, Act I, sc. i), Longo tells us that as many as a hundred people would assist.

[3] Goldoni, *Le avventure della villeggiatura*.

[4] Longo, *Mem.*, cit., I, 81, 82.

[5] Goldoni, *Le Smanie*, Act I, sc. v.

[6] Gozzi, *Lettera ad A. F. Seghezzi*, op. cit., XIII, 145.

CHAPTER VIII

DRESS AND FASHION

FRENCH and Spanish fashions, which came into Italy after the middle of the sixteenth century, acquired a still greater vogue in the seventeenth.[1] Giacomo Franco's books, published in 1610, show them already in common use. The gown or toga, however, always remained obligatory for the patricians,[2] though it gradually lost its popularity in spite of its becomingness. The nobles adopted the fashion of leaving the black toga open in front so as to show off their gay and many-coloured garments,[3] and in the Settecento they abandoned it altogether the moment they left the Council Chamber and deposited their gowns in the little vaulted chambers called *vôlte*, under the arcades of the Procuratie. Fashion, in fact, became ever more and more licentious, until a writer of the Seicento expresses a doubt whether the young men of Italy intend to change their sex altogether[4]; while in Businello's Satires the bloods of Venice are painted as

[1] Filippo di Cino Rinuccini, in his *Ricordi Storici* (Firenze, 1840), p. 270, has a chapter entitled *Considerazioni sopra l'usanze mutate nel passato secolo del 1600 cominciate a notare da me cav. Tommaso Rinuccini l'anno 1665.*

[2] In 1704 the Council of Ten reaffirmed, under pain of prison and fine, the prohibition to *variar in alcuna forma la Veste costituita dalle leggi.* Arch. di Stato, *Capitol. degli Inq. di Stato*, p. 59. In the eighteenth century doctors and lawyers gave up wearing the toga out of doors.

[3] "Leurs robes sont ouvertes par le devant, pour faire voir une soutane qu'ils portent dessous, d'une riche étoffe, des bas, et des jarretières, avec des souliers de marroquin noir." Lassels, *Voy. d'Italie*, cit., II, 267.

[4] Aprosio da Ventimiglia, in his *Scudo di Rinaldo* (Chap. XV. Venezia, 1646) and in the *Biblioteca Aprosiana*, pp. 220, 221. Bologna, 1673.

. . . tutti pieni de cordelle
De galloni incarnai, verdi, turchini . . .
Le braghesse da basso i vol portar
Più larghe che no xe largo el traverso . . .
Le calce xe più longhe dei stivai
In gamba comodae con cento piette.[1]

Everything was judged by appearances, and a fine mantle effectually hid an empty purse.

Chi xe che cò i gallani alla Moderna
E col cappello basso de castor
Xe reverio da tutti per Signor,
Ordene adesso ch' el Mondo governa.

Chi gha i drappi alla Moda, e porta a basso
Scarpe lascive con fiube d'Arzento,
Xe più vardà cinquanta volte, e cento,
D'ogni gran Virtûoso o Dottorasso.

Chi ha l'inverno veluo, l'Autuno rasso
Cendà l'Istae per muarse de stagion,
È, da tutta la zente, e in devotion,
Tutti per farghe honor ghe dà del naso.

L'habito esterno, e l'ordine che tira
Drio de le reverentie ogni diffetto,
L'interno o nò se stima, o tien'n sospetto,
Uno s'adora, e l'altro no se mira.[2]

The Venetian nun Arcangela Tarabotti declared that the men were far vainer than the women, and decked themselves out in plush, velvet, and damask, in shirts of the finest linen trimmed with Mechlin lace; "all bedizened with braid with gold and silver tags, with lace, with rings, English hose, tight shoes, which gave them small feet, and at the points enormous rosettes; embroidered sashes round the waist, and braces to keep up their breeches."[3]

[1] Businello, *Satire*, cit., pp. 64, 65.

[2] Id., *Il mondo alla Moda*, cit., pp. 103, 104.

[3] Tarabotti, *Antisatira in risposta al "Lusso donnesco" satira menippea del sig. Franc. Buoninsegni*, pp. 93, 94, 95. Siena, 1661. The volume also contains Buoninsegni's *Lusso donnesco* and the *Censura dell' "Antisatira" della signora Tarabotti, scherzo geniale* by Lucido Ossiteo. About Buoninsegni's *Satira* and Tarabotti's *Antisatira* we may quote Quadrio, *Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia*, II. 570–571: "The *Satira Menippea* on the luxury of women, written by Francesco Buoninsegni, secretary to Don Leopold

Towards the close of the century that effeminate costume of doublet and waistcoat came into fashion; they were made of embroidered silk, and were worn with white silk stockings and shoes with gold or silver buckles, a three-cornered hat, and ruffles of lace at the breast and wrists.[1] The cloak of silk or cloth, the

of Tuscany, with a sonnet by Pier Francesco Minozzi, was printed in Milan by Filippo Ghisolfi, 1637, 12mo. Against this satire of Buoninsegni, Giovanni Battista Torretti, a Florentine, at once took the field, stripped to his vest. He wrote a work which was published first in Venice by Sarzina in 1638. Nor was that enough; the counter attack on Buoninsegni was carried on by D. A. T., that is to say, by Donna Arcangela Tarabotti, nun at Saint Anne's in Venice; she tucked up her skirts and in defence of her sex she published, through Francesco Valvasense in 1644, another work generally admitted to be quite insipid. Angelico Aprosio, the Austin friar, composed his *La Maschera scoperta di Filofilo Misoponero in risposta all' Antisatira di D. A. T. scritta contro la Satira Menippea del signor Francesco Buoninsegni*, etc. He showed this work in manuscript to a friend who made a copy and sold it to Tarabotti. She at once used all her influence to prevent the publication of the work. Aprosio having recovered his manuscript handed it to Buoninsegni, and in the mean time he produced another book under the title of *Lo scudo di Rinaldo ovvero Lo specchio del disinganno*, printed in 1646, wherein he repeated all he had said in the *Maschera scoperta* and added some more.

[1] To form an idea of male costume in the Settecento let us take the following ironical counsel given to the beaux who were contemplating a visit to Padua in 1751, to the fair of Sant' Antonio. For the document we have to thank Dr. Cesare Musatti, who made us a present of it. We quote it in full. "Preceti necesari alla Nobile e pulita Gioventù per fare una brilante comparsa nella ventura Fiera del Santo di Padova, 1751 — in trenta capitoli: 1. Abito di ricamo del valor di 200 Zechini in circa — 2. Altri due Abiti di buon gusto, e alla moda per mutarsi alla Giornata — 3. Bragoni uniformi agli abiti, o di Guchia a tre Fibie d'oro — 4. Camicie soprafine con fornimenti di punto d'Inghiltera, merletti soprafini di Fiandra, e ogni giorno si muterà — 5. Calzette a due Fiochetti di Parigi, col Bollo di Piombo da due Zecchini al pajo — 6. Pendon di seta ricamato d'oro con cinque Fibie d'oro — 7. Spada d'Acciajo rimessa d'oro, con nastro bianco con lavori d'oro, e fiocchetti — 8. Scarpe di Bruna a paletta Tacco ponsò con Fibie d'oro — 9. Perucca di M.sù Taquel con Tupè a verze, e suo sachetto della Dea. — 10. Coletti fodrati con Fibia d'oro, cambiandosi due volte il giorno — 11. Capello schietto d'Inghiltera di peso oncie tre — 12. Fazoletti due Bianchi uno per pellare Frutti, l'altro per servire la Dama quando prenderà Sorbetti, Caffè o Chicolata: altri due da Naso di scorza d'Albero, e tutti spruzzati di spirito di Lavanda — 13. Spunge di seta per asciugar il sudore — 14. Para due Guanti bianchi da Roma, un pajo in mano l'altro in saccoccia con altri due para da Donna di diferente grandezza, per li accidenti che potessero nascer, avisando che non abbiano odor — 15. Scatole da Tabacco una d'oro per il Tabacco di Spagna, l'altra

Costumes of the XVIII century. (Museo Civico)

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distinctive wear of the middle class, was adopted by the nobles, who are thus satirized by Dotti:

. . . i nobili bizzarri
Già s'han reso familiare
L'uso improprio dei tabarri
Ch'è il vestito popolare.[1]

The same effeminacy was observable in the dressing of the hair. In the Seicento the young people plastered with pomatum and powder[2] their locks, which were smoothed down, scented, and wanton.[3] In the following century they seemed more like women of

di Papicer rosso di M.sù Marsian per Tabacco ad uso del Paese — 16. Astucchio con suo equipaggio con suoi strumenti tutti d'oro — 17. Scatoletta d'oro con suo cuchiajo con polvere d'Anover — 18. Bozzetta legata in oro con spiriti odorosi all' ultima moda — 19. Altra Bozzetta divisa in due di Diavoloni da Napoli, e Diavolini — 20. Specchio, Taccuino, Nei, Pettine, Spille, di diverse sorti, Cordelle, Azze, Seta di varj colori il tutto in due picole Cassettine — 21. Ochiale da teatro con sua Custodia di Tartaruca ed oro — 22. Orologlio di Repetizione, da una parte col quadrante di smalto con le ore alla Francese, e dall' altra d'oro con le ore all' Italiana con astucchio d'oro, e sigili di Camaini — 23. Carte Francesi ed Italiane Mazzi due — 24. Ventole con Nastro bianco che si accomodano nelle Falde interne della Velada per riparar occorrendo dal sole la Dama dandole braccio ad uso di Sinigalia — 25. Anelli due uno Rubino, e l'altro Brillante, due ricordini uno di picoli brilantini, e l'altro sia vera di Tombaco, che servir debba per ricordo, e per specifico — 26. Borsa a rete di seta e Felippi d'oro, e dentro alcune grosse monete tutte nove d'argento, per pagar occorrendo alla Dama se a sorte perdesse al Gioco, ed anco cento Cechini in specie del Dose Regnante — 27. Haverà sempre in saccocia Canditi incartati con carta dorata, Cilele di Chicolata, Pestachi, Castagne, del Marignon, Canelini, Diavolini, et altre galanterie di mezza camicia — 28. Un staffiero, et un Lachè diabolico, che sia atto alli casi che potessero nascere per volare dalla Città in una Villa — 29. Sterzo dorato con due bravi Corsieri — 30. Scatola poi in fine con Assafetida che doverà servire per la Dama se patisce Male isterici quali per lo più vengono fomentati da buoni odori. Quando il K.r sarà corredato in questa maniera potrà senza dubbio alcuno, al parere de più sensati prolati, autorevoli protettori della gran moda, far la sua comparsa nel gran mondo con una Dama, ed averà costante speranza di attraere gli applausi della Dama restando solamente di renderlo avisato d'interompere spesso i graziosi discorsi suoi con qualche Canzonetta Francese, questa la potrà apprendere nel famoso libro intitolato: 'L'Amor de Palajo Roie.'"

[1] Dotti, *Satire*, cit., III, 93. The patricians wore a scarlet cloak; the citizens and bourgeoisie, black, white, or blue. After the middle of the eighteenth century the scarlet cloak was worn also by the citizens.

[2] Aprosio da Ventimiglia, loc. cit.

[3] Tarabotti, *Antisatira*, cit., p. 55.

the gay world, "with their silver-backed combs, rouge-pots, pins, curling-tongs, brushes, scissors, pocket-knives, soap, looking-glasses, and a thousand other accessories of the toilet-table, all kept with feminine neatness."[1] Tarabotti, writing in 1644, observes that these *Polidori*, her name for these young exquisites, wore out dozens of combs over their curling love-locks, all scented and powdered "alla francese"[2]; and about the same date (1661–1663) a foreigner notes that the young Venetians "se plaisent à avoir de beaux cheveux; leurs petits bonnets ne les gâtent pas comme font nos chapeaux."[3] Tarabotti goes on to ridicule those who curled their beards and mustaches with curling-tongs and made them shiny with oil of jasmine and citron. From this we gather that the beard was held in esteem, and indeed Gian Francesco Loredano declares that a man without a beard is hardly worthy of the name of man, his beard being the greatest proof of his manhood.[4] All the same many contemporaries of Loredano, besides dressing their hair in long ringlets, came to adopt the imperial; and about 1657 Paolo Foscari, who still wore a beard and short-cut hair, was counted a boor and an enemy of progress, for, as a contemporary writer put it, "it has always been held to be either a sign of the highest virtue or of utter folly to maintain the fashions of the past in the midst of modern life."[5]

A still more important change took place when, in 1665, Count Vinciguerra of Collalto brought to Venice the French periwig for the first time. In France a wig of this sort cost as much as three thousand francs, and the fashion did not readily catch on in Venice; indeed the government, which was opposed to innovations,

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., II, 153.
[2] Tarabotti, *Antisatira*, p. 73.
[3] Lassels, *Voy.*, cit.
[4] Loredano, *Bizzarrie accademiche*, p. 52. Venetia, 1643.
[5] Brusoni, *La gondola a tre remi*, Preface. Venetia, 1657.

A — Patrician Youth wearing a Periwig — from an XVIII century engraving. B — Lady at her Toilette. (Museo Civico)

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issued a decree in May 26, 1668,[1] absolutely prohibiting the periwig and entrusting the enforcement of the law to the Inquisitors of State, but with the usual inefficient result. The young blood Niccolò Erizzo delighted in elegant costumes and wore red socks with white shoes, and a huge periwig which came low down on his forehead and hid the deep scar of a wound that he had received on one of his mad escapades. This periwig did not please his father, a gentleman of the old school who could not abide his son's effeminate ways. After repeated warnings given in vain, without saying a word to anyone he altered his will, disinheriting any of his sons who had worn a periwig or red socks, and leaving that portion of his fortune to the Hospital of the Pietà. When the old gentleman died in 1697, Niccolò Erizzo, who was bent on having his own way, challenged the right of the Pietà to his patrimony, and a compromise was reached by which he was allowed to wear his periwig on the payment of six

[1] Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, *Parti secrete*, B[a] 46: "Che resti espressamente prohibito a ciaschedun nobile, cittadino, o suddito nostro sia di qual grado o conditione si voglia, nessuno eccettuato, l'uso delle Peruche, o Capigliature posticcie; così che tutti quelli della sopraccennata qualità, che passato il termine di mese uno prossimo ardiranno contravenire al presente risoluto decreto, s'intendano immediatamente sottoposti alla censura degl' Inq.ri nostri di Stato, i quali esercitando l'autorità temuta e sumaria del loro gravissimo Tribunale, doveranno applicar a transgressori di qual si voglia conditione quei castighi, che loro pareranno adequati." In 1681 the Paduan writer Carlo de' Dottori (Busetto, *Carlo de' Dottori*, p. 91. Città di Castello, 1902) wrote a satire, *La pirucha*, and dedicated it to his friend Marsilio Papafava. The poet declares that he is an abject

> Che il capo ingombra di femminee chiome
> Con avvilir la dignità del nome
> Col degradar l'autorità del sesso,

and goes on to ask:

> Che mostro vede l'innocente affetto
> D'incauta sposa in quel gentil marito
> Che, vagheggiato il dì biondo e crinito,
> Bruno o calvo la sera entra nel letto?

thousand ducats.[1] As French fashions came more and more into vogue, periwigs grew more and more common and were made in various ways: there was the peruke with long flowing curls, known as *groppi;* the peruke parted in the middle, called *alla cortesana* or *cortigianesche;* the high peruke with a tail enclosed in a black silk bag, styled *alla dolfina*. In 1709 the Doge Giovanni Corner adopted the periwig, and Benigna writes in his *Memorie* that on January 7, 1757, there died the "Noble Antonio Correr, son of his Excellency the late Piero Correr of San Marcuola, eighty-four years of age, with his own hair; last of the patricians without a periwig."[2]

The periwig necessitated close-shaven cheeks and chin, and so, side by side with the perruquiers, the

[1] *Mem. stor. intorno alla vita del nob. N. Erizzo*, Bibl. Marc., Cl. VII, ital. Cod. 931.

[2] The Councillor, Giovanni Rossi, in his *Raccolta* (V, 3) tells the following curious anecdote which shows that in the eighteenth century the periwig was considered a sign of wisdom and respectability. Rossi's father, becoming engaged to a Mocenigo, presented himself to one of the most powerful personages in the Republic to ask for an appointment. This reverend signor, after measuring the youth with a glance, replied that it would be very difficult for him to attain his object and added, "Do you really know enough to fill the post you are asking for? We want serious and responsible men, and not mere boys, to fill the post becomingly, and we shall not find such among persons who wear their own hair in a *toupé*. Seneca, in his 105th letter, says that nothing solid can be expected from such like." "Well, what am I to do?" "My dear sir, what are you to do? Why, cut your hair, of course, and wear a periwig, like all sensible people." "Such a peruke as I see up there, my Lord?" "Yes, that is my periwig; but don't you have yours made so low; you want one suited to your years; yours should be high-pointed; the low periwig belongs to old age. Young people should wear a periwig, it is true, but should not usurp the form becoming to advanced years; you must wait till you are my age and you must work, do you understand?" Rossi obeyed, and sacrificed his fine crop of hair. He had his head shaved, and donned a periwig with the proper number of ringlets at the side and a toupé like a sugar-loaf, but not without loud protests from his *fiancée;* there was nothing for it, however. Thus armed, Rossi again presented himself before the satrap, who recognized him at once: "Ah! that's right. Bravo! come here; there's an honest face for you! Pietro, bring some breakfast for this young gentleman." And there was the coveted post secure.

VENETIAN Costumes of the XVIII century — from a fresco by Pietro Longhi in the Palazzo Grassi

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barbers came to flourish.[1] The new fashion also modified the hat, which hitherto had been decked with ribbons and cockades.[2] The new hat had two or three corners; it was seldom worn on the top of the powdered periwig, but was carried under the arm. The habit of always covering the head remained among the people, who wore red or black caps according as they belonged to the Nicolotti or the Castellani factions. The costume of the people did not differ from that of the populace in other Italian States. It would seem that in the eighteenth century the Venetians were the first to substitute the trouser for the Spanish breeches buckled at the knee; certainly they were the first to introduce them to the French, who thought them very odd-looking; and since in France the subjects of the serene Republic were usually called Pantaloons, trousers got this name.[3] The gondoliers of private families (*di casada*) wore a handsome costume; on gala days it consisted of a silk jacket, short breeches, silk stockings, a red sash round the waist, white shoes, and a red cap.[4] The gondoliers of the traghetto wore a plain shirt, a sash, and a cap or a hat with a plume.[5]

As usual, women's dress was more capricious in its fashions. A book that had a great success at Venice, where it was printed for the first time in 1631, was the *Ginepedia*, by Vincenzo Nolfi of Fano. The author instructs noble ladies how to behave on all occasions,

[1] The trade of barber, united to the perruquier's, was erected into a guild in 1475. At the fall of the Republic it numbered 852. Cicogna, *Iscr. Ven.*, I, 59. If one can trust Mutinelli (*Mem. stor.*, cit., p. 75), in the last years of the Republic there were 1500 perruquiers in Venice.

[2] The cockade

Fra la cupola e l'ala del cappello
Dai galanti s'appicca e vi s'imbrocca.

[3] Quicherat, *Hist. du Costume en France*, p. 480. Paris, 1876.

[4] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit. I, 190. "Les gondoliers de la République sont tous en chapes de velours rouge chamarrés d'or, avec de grands bonnets à l'albanoise." De Brosses, *Lettre* XV.

[5] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 36.

indoors and out, and also how to dress.[1] Nolfi teaches that a woman "should not give her heart away to the old fashions, nor should she be the first to introduce new ones, but should follow the general custom; for we Italians, thanks to our unfortunate temperament, are exposed to perpetual change of fashions, playing the ape now to this nation, now to that, to our great disgrace; and we take our fashions from foreigners who accustom our eyes to their strange costumes; we despise the mode of sixty or seventy years ago, though then it seemed admirable."[2]

From the close of the seventeenth century onwards the desire for richness of dress injured the elegance of costume; robes became ample and stiff, the material ever more and more rich and heavy, surcharged with lace, furbelows, flounces, so that it formed a stiff unbending wrapper which obliterated the lines of the body.[3] The Venetian ladies of the Seicento dressed, on the whole, very much like the ladies elsewhere in Italy. No sooner had they laid aside the simple veil which all maidens wore[4] than they appeared in great pleated bodices, all

[1] *Ginepedia ovvero Avvertimenti Civili per donne nobili*, di Vincenzo Nolfi da Fano. Bologna, 1662. The first edition is Guerrigli, Venezia, 1631. The author, Vincenzo Galassi da Fano, was heir to Guido Nolfi and took his name. D'Ancona reprinted a specimen of the *Ginepedia* (per nozze) (*La gentildonna italiana del sec. XVII a convito*. Pisa, 1898). Gay, *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour, aux femmes, au mariage, etc.*, 4th edit., Vol. II, col. 411, says: "Sages préceptes aux grandes dames, pour leur conduite en toutes sortes d'occasions, dont pas une n'est omise par l'auteur. Il entre dans les détails les plus minutieux sur l'hygiène, sur le repos, sur le choix des onguents, des fleurs, des parfums, et des couleurs, sur la forme des robes, des chapeaux et des manteaux, sur les bals et les jeux, sur les soins à donner à chaque partie du corps. Il fait même connaître le vrai secret de la beauté (Luzarche, 1.re partie, No. 3307)."

[2] Bolognese edition, pp. 86, 87.

[3] Rodocanachi, *La femme ital. de la Renaiss.*, p. 168. Paris, 1907.

[4] Saint-Didier says that you could only see the maids of Venice "à travers un grand voile blanc d'une gaze très fine et très lustrée qui leur descend par derrière jusqu'au bas de la jupe, et les deux coings où il y a des nœuds des rubans sont soutenus à fleur de terre par des cordons attachez à la ceinture: ce même voile abattu par devant leur couvre les bras et le visage, dont elles ne l'éloignent avec les deux mains qu'autant qu'il le faut pour voir devant elles."

puffed on the breast and at the wrists; heavy, stiff skirts and puffed sleeves; stays prolonged like lance-heads down among the folds of the petticoat. The corset enclosed the body, fitting close to the flank, while the skirt was extended with hoops, panniers, and bustles, and by the new device of the crinoline (*Verdugale*), a series of widening hoops, fastened to the waist by tapes. Each country, however, had its peculiarities in trimming, cut, colour, set, of the dress. Venetian ladies were not behind the rest of Italy in exaggerating their crinolines, in choosing audacious combinations of colours, and in the lowness of their cut.[1] Gian Francesco Loredano says that when the Cavaliere Marino was in Venice and saw the ladies in their overloaded garments, he remarked that "the woman herself was the smallest part of the show."[2] Buoninsegni too, in his *Satira contro il lusso donnesco*, declares that many people fell in love "più dello splendore dei panni che de' raggi degli occhi, più delle vesti che del volto delle donne."[3] Nevertheless, in spite of the oddness and affectation in the cut, and the extravagance in the quality of the stuffs, there still remained a certain picturesqueness and charm in the dress of Venetian ladies. Brusoni draws the following attractive picture of a young girl who, "on removing the veil from her head and the black cloak which the ladies are wont to wear when out of doors, appeared in a gown of green satin sown with flowers in gold and trimmed with gold lace."[4] This large black silk veil or mantle which Venetian ladies used to wear on their heads, falling down over the shoulders and gracefully enveloping the person and toning down the strong colours of their dress, gave rise in the Settecento to the

[1] "Vanno colle poppe scoperte, nè si avveggono dell' error che commettono." Aprosio da Ventimiglia, *Lo scudo di Rinaldo*, cit., Chap. XXIX.

[2] Loredano, *Bizzarrie accademiche*, cit., p. 344.

[3] Buoninsegni, *Sat.*, cit., p. 31. Venezia, 1644.

[4] *Il Carroccino alla moda*, cit., p. 259.

zendà.[1] This was tied around the waist, while the two tails flew out behind,

> Del nero vel che largamente avvolto
> Portan le donne al torreggiante elmetto,
> E di cui fansi baldacchino il volto,
> Tenda alle chiome e cortinaggio al petto,
>
> L'uno e l'altro solea lembo disciolto
> Sovra il fianco cader fiocco negletto,
> Ma dietro alle lor spalle oggi rivolto,
> Forma alla groppa lor nodo ristretto.[2]

The edge of the *zendà* was usually trimmed with lace, under which could be seen the ringlets of hair. With the exception of festivals and public ceremonies, the sumptuary laws, which, however, were but carelessly observed, obliged patrician ladies to wear the *vesta*, or dress of black silk, and the *zendà*, and it was in this simple but attractive costume that the Venetian ladies appeared to Misson and to that frivolous Englishwoman, Esther Thrale, who eventually married the Brescian tenor Piozzi.[3] But the black and graceful mantle was little in keeping with the rest of the costume, which still retained the ostentation of the Seicento, though continually changing the cut and the trimming. The crinoline still maintained its voluminous dimensions,[4] and a writer of the first half of the Settecento says

[1] See Part II, Vol. II, p. 86, of this work.

[2] Dotti, *Sat.*, cit., Part III, p. 6.

[3] Misson, *Nouv. Voy. d'Ital.*, cit., Vol. III. *Glimpses of Italian Society from the "Journal" of Mrs. Piozzi*, p. 117. London, 1892. See Segré, *Baretti ed Ester Thrale* (in the *N. Antologia*, December 16, 1906).

[4] In 1773 at Verona four ladies appeared in the assembly rooms with crinolines less voluminous than usual. A scandal arose, and the city was divided into two factions. To put an end to the uproar the supreme magistracy had to intervene. Cavattoni, *La quistione del guardinfanti destata a Verona nel luglio del 1773 e l'anno dopo sentenziata a Venezia* (per nozze). Verona, 1862. Del Bene, *Lettere* (per nozze). Verona, 1879. At Bergamo, too, in 1748 a question of honour arose between two ladies over the mode of dressing the hair, and furnished the topic of discussion to many grave personages, set the magistrates of Bergamo in movement, and occupied the attention of the Inquisitori at Venice. Predelli, *Vertenza cavalleresca fra due dame*, etc. Trento, Zippel, 1893.

that the women "were accustomed to wear such tight stays that their shoulders were forced back and their bosoms thrust forward and exposed to the gaze of the public."[1]

Saint-Didier observes that the Venetian ladies, though more elegant than other Italian dames, were "pour l'ordinaire bizarrement mises par la trop grande envie qu'elles ont d'être à la mode de France . . . ne manquant jamais de donner dans l'excez des modes par la faute de leurs mechants tailleurs."[2] De La Lande, on the other hand, writing in the next century, says: "Les modes françoises et les ajustemens de nos Dames n'ont pas beaucoup pris à Venise: les femmes y portent toujours un corps, jamais de rouge, souvent les cheveux noués d'un ruban, ou même en queue, rarement de bonnet sur la tête . . . C'est de toutes les capitales que j'ai vues celle où l'on rend le moins hommage à l'élégance de nos modes, quoique l'habillement général soit celui de la France, et les coiffures pareilles aux nôtres."[3] As a matter of fact the fashion in Venice, though it drew its rules and its inspiration from France, developed on its own lines, and acquired, both in form and in harmony of colour, a subtle and playful taste of its own which is noticeable in the richness of the stuffs and the trimmings.[4] The names of

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., IX, 80.

[2] Saint-Didier, *La Ville et la Rep.*, cit., p. 299.

[3] De La Lande, *Voy.*, cit., VII, 33.

[4] As a proof of the richness and elegance of Venetian costume at this period, we may quote the list of the trousseau belonging to a Venetian lady in 1744, and published by Niccolò Barozzi per nozze Agostini-Marcello (Venezia, 1882). A complete dress of brocade, with cloth of gold petticoat, embroidered in silver thread, with brilliants and flowers embroidered and enamelled — Another complete dress of embroidered cloth, a light brown colour, trimmed deep with silver lace flounces, with enamels of many colours and silver filigree flowers — Robe with a train, of pale blue, embroidered in gold and silver, with brilliants and flowers — Robe and train of white, embroidered in gold, silver, and flowers — Robe and train of French grey, embroidered in gold, silver, and flowers — Robe and train of rose-coloured velvet and false petticoat, with deep flounces of gold lace and enamelled flowers — Robe and train of silver satin, quilted and embroidered

the gowns were taken from France, — for example, the *matelote*, or sailor's dress; the *Andrienne*,[1] probably in

in gold and flowers, petticoat to match the robe — Robe and train of white cloth flowered in enamel, gold, silver, and brilliants — Robe and train of pale green flowered in silver — Robe and train, quite plain, with rose-coloured petticoat shaded and flowered — Robe and train without silver, embroidered in a peculiar pattern and flowered — Robe and train of muslin of many colours — Robe and mantle, rose-coloured, and sham petticoat flounced in silver lace — Pale blue robe with tassels and little silver — Robe of black velvet — Robe of black watered silk — Robe woven in stripes and patterns — Robe of Holland Possuè, trimmed with Spanish point — A patrician's robe of black, embroidered and trimmed with lace — A patrician's robe with lace flounces — A black Bellacossa with tassels — Mantle and petticoat of black velvet — Another woven in stripes — A black patrician's mantle and petticoat, with embroidery and lace — A lemon-coloured Milordino with little silver trimming, and cloth-of-silver incisions, and petticoat to match — A sacque or Milordino, rose-coloured and embroidered, with petticoat to match, richly embroidered in silver — A dressing-gown with train, of plain dark stuff embroidered with flowers — A blue camelot riding-habit embroidered in gold and silver, with bodice of cloth of silver glacé trimmed with gold — A wrapper of black velvet lined with Canadian marten — A wrapper of pale blue velvet lined with ermine and vair — A wrapper of gold-green cloth and silver bosses, lined with Canadian marten, with separate sleeves that will allow it to be turned into a robe — Cloak and domino of grey embroidered in silver — Petticoats of white camelot embroidered in gold and silver with bodice to match, of green richly embroidered in gold — Another bodice of beaver embroidered with gold and flowers — Another of limousine camelot with silver braid, rose-coloured with deep silver lace trimming — Another blue with silver embroidery — Plain white stays — Several corsets, white embroidered in gold, with herring-bone sewing; rose-coloured with silver stitching and silver lace trimming — Beaver drawers, trimmed in gold, with burnished clasps; rose-coloured cloth embroidered with silver; pale blue damask embroidered in silver; black velvet embroidered with gold; of rose-coloured cloth trimmed with silver; of patrician black — Five hooped skirts, rose, white, pale blue, and roedeer skin, five in all — A lace *bauta* — An embroidered lawn *bauta* — Two English hats — Cloaks of camelot embroidered in gold; with silver lace — A patrician's cloak embroidered — Little cloaks of black velvet with Spanish point trimmings; of crape with black lace trimming — Paris cloaks with silver embroidery; with flower embroidery; a grey travelling-cloak embroidered and lined with rose-coloured plush and silver incisions: of rose-coloured velvet trimmed with Russian ermine, and lined with vair, with silver incisions — A boa with its round clasp in gold and silver — Another with clasp of silver and enamelled flowers — Another in cloth of silver with little gold embroidery and flowered — Others of light cloth of silver, of silver lace, embroidered

[1] An *andrienne* took twenty-five *braccia* of stuff, and a good stuff of silk cost three sequins the *braccia*. Goldoni, *Le femmine puntigliose*, Act II, sc. viii.

THE Tailor, by Pietro Longhi. (Venice, Academy) *Photo by Naya*

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memory of the great actress Adrienne Lecouvreur; the *mariage*, so called from the blending of colours.[1] The stuffs were brought from Paris or from Milan, as the native looms no longer satisfied the passion for novelty.[2] The satirists, like Dotti, were always inveighing against the *moda de Franza:*

Ogni moda parigina
Cresce i debiti e le spese
E qualch' una va in rovina
Per andar alla francese.[3]

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in blue flowers — Colliers wrought in gold and silver with silk tassels of various colours — Two white lace handkerchiefs from Sessa and two from Vienna, one of white lawn with gold embroidery and flowers, the other with plain flowers — A large muff embroidered in gold and silver — Another of rose-coloured velvet with silver cords. Then follows a list of chemises, ruffles, caps, coifs, neck cloths with precious lace, silk stockings, embroidered slippers, shoes of velvet and fur, fans studded with brilliants and diamonds, satin cloaks with gold and silver embroidery, sables, black fox, ermine, wolf, beaver.

The cost of a dress of gold brocade may be gathered from the following entry of the dower of Elisabetta Mocenigo Duodo in 1706, lately in the Stefani collection:

brocado b^a 17	L. 408
galon d'oro da indopionar	8
merlo d'oro per il busto b^a 12 . . .	48
merlo grande b^a 3	36
tella, osso et altero per il busto . . .	12
la pedana	2
fattura	20
causa a far buffi	12
Somma	L. 546

See Appendix (Doc. A.) *Inventari.*

[1] *Mariage*, a dress of silk of one colour only with twisted trimmings of two colours. Goldoni, *Le smanie per la Villeggiatura*, Act I, sc. ii.

[2] Here is the bill for the trousseau of a Cornaro Mocenigo bride (Arch. priv. Mocenigo): "1739, Milano, li 9 giugno. Sig. Geromino Chinetti di Venezia (Cornaro's agent) deve a Francesco Revoir e C. di Milano pagare a pronti contanti in moneta di Milano li seguenti drappi con oro e argento, scielto da S. E. la Signora Principessa Triulzi.

B^a 28 di Milano drappeggiato per estate, ombrato, rigato, spolinato con oro di Francia	L. 448
B^a 29 drappo ombrato lila spolinato con argento . . .	580
B^a 28$\frac{7}{8}$ drappo fondo verde puro spolinato con oro e argento con trama richo de Francia	1443
	L. 2471

[3] Dotti, *Sat.*, cit., Part I, p. 133.

So too Baffo:

Veramente sto paese
Xe più assai nobilità,
Tutti veste alla francese
Tutti magna quel che i gà.[1]

The new French fashions made their appearance at Ascensiontide, when the milliners and mercers dressed up a huge doll called the *Piavola de Franza*, and placed it in the Merceria, bedizened in all the latest finery. This habit continued till the French Revolution introduced the classical garments of Greece and Rome.[2] "Quanti cambiamenti in pochissimo tempo: polacche, levitiche, vesti all' inglese, alla turca, pierotte," cries Goldoni[3]; while an anonymous satirist, in a quaint composition of

[1] Baffo, *Racc. delle opere* (*I piaceri di Venezia*), I, 20. Cosmopoli, 1789. An anonymous poet of the eighteenth century, in a sonnet (Bibl. Marc. Cl. IX, ital. Cod. 403), speaks of the variety of female dress:

Quei rizzi, quei topè, quelle corone
De fioretti, de penne e de diamanti,
Quelle belle cascate e quei bei guanti,
Quei galani, goliè, quelle patrone,
Quelle coe d'andriè da saccagnone,
Quei cotoli, camuffi e guardinfanti.

[2] The noble lady Maria Lippomano Quirini, wife of the last Venetian ambassador in Paris, wrote from the French capital on February 19, 1797, to her friend Elisabetta Foscarini-Widmann: "Voi mi descrivete con molta grazia il vestito di coteste nostre Dame, e dalla descrizione che me ne fate sembrami di dover trovare al mio ritorno in Venezia un gran cangiamento. Esse vanno dunque messe alla Romana? Qui le eleganti hanno adottato per ora il costume greco. . . . Le mode tengono assai in adesso al carattere della nazione." Arch. priv. Widmann-Rezzonico, *Lett.*, cit.

[3] Antonio Piazza, in his romance *I zingani*, published in 1793 (see Marchesi, *Romanzieri e romanzi del 700*, p. 156. Bergamo, 1893), satirises the fashions of his day: "Bisogna adattarsi alle leggi della gran moda a costo di cangiare ogni giorno. Tempo già fu che cerchiate le Dame come le botti, parevano tanti Didoni in iscena, e nel giro vastissimo de loro padiglione ambulante sostenevano una merceria di ricchissimo drappo ed ingombravano nel loro passaggio le vie più larghe e spaziose. Abolita quell' incomoda usanza, serpeggia adesso di dietro quanto loro stava innanzi e ai lati, ed è più quello che trascinano e serve a scopare la casa e la strada, di quello che basta a lor per coprirsi. Molto tempo non è passato dacchè certe acconciature di capo alte e piramidali stavano relegate su polverosi ritratti dello scorso secolo, ed erano oggetti di derisione e censura. Ora è tornata anche di quelle la voga."

his in rhymed lines, addressed in 1768 to Elisabetta Maffetti Dandolo, celebrated for her elegance and her gallantries, mercilessly lashes not only the absurdities of the fashion, the dresses as multi-coloured as a bed of tulips, but also the immodest deportment of certain great ladies.[1] Each verse has its comment:

L'abito a campana	— *S'usa il cerchio piccolo e tondo,*
Tabaro ala romana	— *Se lo getta giù dalle spalle,*
El passo a la levriera	— *Camminava saltellando,*
El parlar a la massera	— *Parlar triviale,*
El petto a la ermafrodita	— *Non usano i busti,*
La man a la remita	— *Incrociano le mani,*
I brazzi a la lavandera	— *I bracci tutti nudi,*
El concero a la cerviera	— *Le cuffie altissime con molti soleri,*
El capelo a la colombina	— *Tutto pieno di grandi pennacchi,*
La coazza a la regina	— *Il strascino lungo,*
I denti mascarati	— *Imbianchiscono i denti,*
I ochi ben maccati	— *Per uso della libidine,*
El sentar a la sultana	— *Mette una coscia sopra l'altra*
Tutto el resto da p . . .	—

The extravagance of the dresses was matched by the absurdities of the caps and hats of every conceivable shape. In the Seicento Businello says that the ladies "cultivated their hats like a garden," and that

All' usanza le porta d'Herbarole
Una cestella in cima la testiera

[1] There was no dearth of such satires; they passed from hand to hand in manuscript or in print, or were secretly posted up in public resorts. One of these, hitherto unedited and belonging to the year 1768, is probably a reply to the above, and turns on the dress and deportment of the men:

Velada all' Inglese
Coeta alla Francese
Camisola a Ventoletta
Orologio da Pincetta
Braghesse alla Scoazera
Caminar alla Corriera
Colo da Impiegai
Fiube da Cavai
Capello da Caponi
Concier da Macaroni
Tabaro alla Comandaora
Sempre star con la Signora
Religion da Paninbrui
Tutto el resto da Bechifutui.

Così da zentildone che le giera
Le xè diventà adesso Cestarole.[1]

A century later Gaspare Gozzi ridicules hats like baskets of cabbages, and Arthur Young observes that Venetian women spoil their beauty by wearing men's hats: "Le chapeau en Angleterre redevient féminin par les plumes et les rubans que l'on y ajoute; mais ici, quand les jupes sont cachées, il faut regarder une figure à deux fois, pour reconnaître que c'est une femme."[2]

The mode of dressing the hair was no less peculiar. The hairdresser combed out, curled, and waved the locks, added false hair, gathered it all up into the fantastic towers of the *tupè* (*conzieri* or *cimieri* in Venetian), and then powdered the whole; the use of powder in the seventeenth century had become an essential in both male and female hairdressing.[3] Ladies of fashion wore huge mob caps, feathers, lace, cupidons, butterflies, stuffed birds, ears of corn, flowers, fruit, on their heads. A writer of the Seicento remarks that "the face compared with its elaborate setting of hair seemed like the earth in comparison with the circumambient sky"[4]; another writer of the same epoch declares that it would have required a whole volume to describe a head-dress with its jewels and its flowers; and no wonder, for it had emptied the purse of the unfortunate husband to build it up.[5]

As time went on, these extravagant head-gears changed, not in dimensions but in shapes and in names; we hear of pyramids, fans, baskets, hammers, and of *tupè à la*

[1] Businello, *Sat.*, cit., p. 62.

[2] Young, *Voy.*, cit., p. 94.

[3] The powder was sold by the perfumers (*muschieri*), who formed a branch of the mercers' guild. Part of it was brought from abroad, especially from Flanders; part was made at home. During the last years of the Republic there were manufactories at San Giovanni Grisostomo, at Santa Maria Formosa, in the Frezzeria, at San Silvestro, and at the Gesuati. Dolcetti, *La profumeria dei Ven.* Venezia, 1898.

[4] Aprosio da Ventimiglia, *Lo scudo di Rinaldo*, cit., Cap. XIX.

[5] Brusoni, *Il carrozzino alla moda*, cit., p. 242.

Turque, à la Montgolfier, à la Figaro, à la chaste Susanne, à la noblesse, à la laitière, à la recherche, au sentiment.[1] The *pouf à sentiment* was adorned with portraits of the wearer's mother or children or of her canary or her dog; it contained the hair of her father or of her lover. To keep the erection up they used hoops and frameworks of iron, and a celebrated professor of Padua suggested that it would be wise to fit them with lightning conductors.[2] The composition of the *tupè* became a very serious affair; a brass comb supported the pomatumed locks, over which the hairdresser, *conzateste,* sprinkled the white or yellowish powder, by no means conducive to the cleanliness of the head-dress and which not seldom harboured certain loathsome insects,

. . . di teste volgari ospiti un tempo.

My lady was quite content to have mildew on her head-gear and inside her *tupè*

. . . un battaglione occulto,
E sì folto è lo stuol de gli abitanti
Che molti fanno i cavalieri erranti.

So says Jacopo Vittorelli in his stanzas on the *tupè*,[3]

[1] "È troppo crudele il consiglio di presentarsi al Pubblico senza tutto l'infinito corredo di Cuffioni e di Pettinature intrecciate da Spadini, Trombettine, Cuori infrecciati, e tremolanti Spilloni, senza Blonde, senza Tachi, senza Nastri, senza Fiori, senz'acque odorose, senza lunghe Code di Capegli posticci, senza il Cappello alla Francese, contornato di larga ondeggiante fetuccia, e senza quel Veli neri picchiati di Moscherini, Scarpioncelli, e Scarafaggi, che a noi sembra dieno al volto che cuoprono maestà e grazia." *Le donne belle del Secolo XVIII, inferme nello spedale della Voluttà, visitate dalla Ragione,* by Giovanni Pirani di Cento. Venezia, 1796.

[2] *Del conduttore elettrico sul campanile di San Marco,* etc. Venezia, 1776. A memoir written by the Abbé Giuseppe Toaldo, Professor of Meteorology at Padua.

[3] Vittorelli, *Il tupè.* Bassano, 1772. To keep the *tupè* up, the hairdresser inserts

un pettine sottil d'ottone e d'osso;

he then pomades the hair and

. . . a dritta ed a manca
Di polvere gialliccia e biondeggiante
Sparge l'alto cimier, poichè la bianca
Pregiasi men dal secolo galante.

which show us the noble lady at the glass, her toilet-table covered with pomatums, rouge, scent-bottles, ivory combs, and toothbrushes.

The Venetians were not much addicted to the use of water for washing, and the ladies after sponging their faces covered their cheeks with rouge, which made them seem *vermigli come rose damascene*.[1] They soaked their clothes, from their chemises to their gloves, in perfumes that scented the air "three miles off."[2] Perfumes were supposed to possess specific medicinal qualities; for instance, balsam and musk pounded in wine was held to be an infallible remedy for heart affections and dropsy; soap made up into pills was a specific against headache and stomach-ache. Towards the close of the Seicento the ladies began to cover the face with patches, which soon acquired a language of their own[3]; a patch on the nose was known as the *sfrontata*, at the corner of the eye *passionata*, on the lip or on the dimple *civetta* and *galante*, near the eye *irresistibile*, on the throat *galante*, in the middle of the forehead *maestosa*, at the corner of the mouth *assassina*. Great attention was paid to the hands and nails which were allowed to grow very long, almost as though they wished *testifi-*

[1] Brusoni, *La gondola a tre remi*, cit., p. 94.

[2] Se porta guanti d'inverno e d'istae
Per far sentir l'odor tre mia lontan.

Businello, *Sat.*, cit., p. 64. Beaver gloves were in common use. Here is the bill of a glover (Arch. priv. Mocenigo), December 31, 1709 :

Illmo Ecc^mo cavalier Fran. Corner deve quatro para guanti castor per homo	L. 24
A 13 genno deve due para guanti castor per dona	14
Più due para guanti lavati per donna	5
A venti detto due para guanti castor per donna	14
A 16 febo due para guanti castor donna	14
	L. 71

[3] Dotti (*Sat.*, cit., Part III, p. 3), who lived at the close of the seventeenth and the opening of the eighteenth century, alludes to the *new* fashion of wearing patches.

car di esser bestie, as that shrewish writer Aprosio da Ventimiglia has it.[1]

The undergarments,[2] though not always spotlessly clean, were rich and elegant; chemises and shifts were

[1] On manicure, Nolfi, in his *Ginepedia*, pp. 335, 336, says: "La mano dee esser lunga con le dita sottili, e senza rilievo di nodi, ma candida quanto viepiù si può, che perciò lodo in una donna nobile l'uso di quei saponetti napoletani, di quelle palle profumate di Bologna, delle manteche, della polvere di gelsomini, e di ogni altra cosa che tali le rendino, come il riguardarle, con guanti di concia d'ocagna. . . . L'unghie devono essere tenute al pari del dito, non più lunghe, per no somigliare gli animali di rapina, nè più corte, perchè fanno bruttissima figura."

[2] We give a list of some of the personal effects belonging to the noble lady Cappello, wife of the noble Alvise Mocenigo (Arch. priv. Mocenigo), along with their prices:

Nota delli mobili, et valsenti di essi per uso della N. D^{a} S^{a} Mocc^{a} Cappello, consorte del N. H. Sr Aluise Moc^{o} havuti da essa:

Camise di renso (Reims) con maneghe de tella a baston, cavezzi di merli di Fiandra et alle maneghe compagni	No.	6,	Duc.	72
Camise di renso fino con merli di Fiandra . . .	"	30,	"	300
Camise di tella muneghina con merli	"	12,	"	50
Fazzoletti di tela abaston	"	6,	"	24
Fazzoletti di renso con peroli grandi	"	6,	"	72
Traverse di cambrà con merli	"	24,	"	48
Dette di cambrà sutila con merli di Fiandra e Lorena	"	6,	"	30
Fazzoli di renso con mostre e merli	"	9,	"	40
Fazzoli di renso con merli novi	"	6,	"	30
Fazzoli di tela con merletti	"	18,	"	16
Scarpette con merli para	"	24,	"	30
Scarpette con merli para	"	12,	"	30
Pezzetta d'aiere	"	1,	"	260
Pezzetta di merli di Fiandra con manegotti . .	"	1,	"	32
Pezzetta e manegotti sula foza di Fiandra . . .	"	1,	"	36
Merli per una traversa sula foza di Fiandra . .	"	42,	"	22 l. 12
Vestura latesina con merli d'oro et argento . .			"	75
Zebellini	"	3,	"	90
Cendà rasà color di fogo b^{a}	"	13,	"	29 l. 12
Vestura di pano d'Olanda con merli d'oro . . .			"	70
Manini d'oro smaltadi			"	20
Bottoni d'oro smaltadi per le camise	"	4,	"	4
Corpetto d'amoer di franza latesina a onda con merli d'argento			"	25
Vanti para	"	1,	"	4
Gallani p. le vesture			"	10
			Duc.	1420

made of the finest Flanders linen and adorned with silver lace and enamelled gold buttons; the hose also had precious laces, and so too the white silk handkerchiefs. A coloured handkerchief was used when the ladies adopted the fashion of taking snuff.[1] The use of high pattens (*calcagnini* or *calcagnetti*) still persisted during the seventeenth century, and we do not know for certain when this strange and inconvenient habit went out. It found supporters down to the last; for instance, Arcangela Tarabotti, who wished to see the fashion preserved for the unconvincing reason "that women should always be raised above the common level of the earth."[2] After the middle of the Seicento pattens began to give place to shoes. In 1661 a foreigner praises the beauty of the Venetian women, though he remarks that "leurs grands sciappini ou patins les défigurent."[3] In 1677, however, the poet Giambattista Vidali sings the praises of "the pattens now condemned by the ladies of Venice."[4] From this it would seem as though the reign of the pattens was over, but in the *Pallade Veneta*, a kind of almanac printed in 1688, a lady is made to exclaim: "Camminiamo talhora sopra mezzo braccio di piedistallo di legno, e talvolta, come se fossimo lacchè, su mezzo dito di tacco."[5] Very likely some of the ladies still continued the old fashion, while others had taken to shoes. These, when they first appeared, were made of cloth of gold or of silver, and had their toes turned up[6];

[1] Rossi, *Racc.*, cit., Vol. III.

[2] Tarabotti, *Antisatira*, cit., p. 143.

[3] Lassels, *Voy.*, cit., II, 267.

[4] Vidali, G. B., *I capricci seri delle Muse*, lyrics dedicated to his Serenity Nicolò Sagredo. Venezia, 1677.

[5] *Pallade Veneta* for the month of March, 1688. Venezia, Poletti.

[6] There is an account for shoes in the trousseau of Pisana Cornaro Mocenigo (Arch. priv. Mocenigo): "Adì 23 Settembre, 1739:

Per due para di scarpe bianche guarnite		d'oro	L. 16
idem	idem	d'argento	16
idem	idem	di punto de Spagna . . .	20
idem	idem	d'oro e d'argento	20

they were adorned with embroidery and lace, and had buckles with brilliants which cost several thousands of *lire*.

The sumptuous and heavy jewelry of the Seicento and the light and graceful jewelry of the Settecento were always in great request [1]; head, breast, arms, and hands were covered with jewels of great value — when they were not false.[2] Clocks and snuff-boxes were adorned with enamels, miniatures, portraits, and mythological scenes.[3] Chains, rings, eyeglasses, trinkets of every sort, hung from the fobs of the men and the girdles of the women.[4] Fans too were of the greatest elegance, and the graceful strip of silk, parchment, or

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Per quattro para di scarpe di drapo ricchamate 32
Per tre para di scarpe di drapo d'oro e d'argento 24
Per due para di suole bianche con falbalà 23
L. 151
Gio. Batta. Paulini, calegher

[1] Nolfi, in his *Ginepedia* (pp. 103, 104), writes thus on the proper wearing of jewelry: "Le perle e le collane sono ornamenti del collo, i manigli delle mani, gli anelli delle dita, i pendenti dell' orecchie, i gioielli del capo e del petto, e così andate discorrendo del rimanente, onde io per me non so lodar quelle, che si acconciano la gargantiglia sul capo, o nel petto in luogo di collana, i gioielli su la spalla a guisa di Corrieri, e gli altri ornamenti in posti tanto fuori dell' uso."

[2] Goldoni, *La donna volubile*, Act I, sc. xix, where we learn that sham jewelry was worn by those who could not afford real, or who feared to lose or spoil their real jewels.

[3] In Gozzi's *Gazzetta Veneta* we often find snuff-boxes advertised among things for sale. For example, in the number for February 9, 1760, there is the following notice: "Two snuff-boxes for sale, one of porcelain, the other of pure rock crystal, both mounted in gold. Price, forty sequins each. Apply to Signor Antonio Zatta, printer at the traghetto of San Barnaba." And in the *Gazzetta* for March 12, 1760, a mother-of-pearl box is offered for ten sequins.

[4] Casanova (*Mém.*, cit., III, 17, 18) found himself at an assignation with Sister M. M. She was most elegantly dressed in a *bauta* "de blonde noire, d'une beauté remarquable pour la finesse et le dessin." The fair nun had in her pockets "tabatière d'or, bonbonnière enrichie de perles fines, étui d'or, lorgnette superbe, mouchoirs de batiste de la plus grande finesse, imbibés, plutôt que parfumés des plus précieuses essences. Je considère avec attention la richesse et le travail de ses deux montres, de ses chaînes, de ses breloques étincelantes de petits diamants: enfin je trouve un pistolet; c'était un briquet anglais d'un acier pur et du plus beau fini."

paper, painted by such refined artists as Rosalba Carriera,[1] was the confidant of many a scene of gallantry, and had a language of its own to convey encouragement, promise, praise, threats, or pardon.

> La carta istessa in suo linguaggio accorta
> Distinta a più color parla d'amore;
> Parte è tinta in azzuro e parte smorta,
> Quinci la speme appar, quinci il timore.

So sings the Abbé Carlo Belli, author of a poem on the "Fan" dedicated to Her Excellency Paolina Contarini on the occasion of her marriage to Count Giuseppe Giovanelli.[2] The little fans with flowered patterns and handles of ivory, silver, or gold, described by Giacomo Franco in the sixteenth century, were exchanged for the broader fans of the next century, with handles studded with gems and pearls, made of tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl, or ivory, and ornamented with graceful designs. The fan with an eyeglass attached was also in vogue.[3] Cheaper fans for the use of the people were common, and we hear of the fan-makers, Zucchi, Bagozzi, and Finazzi, and later on Remondini of Bassano. These fans had engravings of scenes from the life of the people, the various trades, fashions, types of the lower classes, caricatures, *fêtes*.[4]

The passion for luxury had become universal, and even among the citizen class there were few women who were content with the simple but elegant costume proper to their caste.[5] If their husbands, the merchants

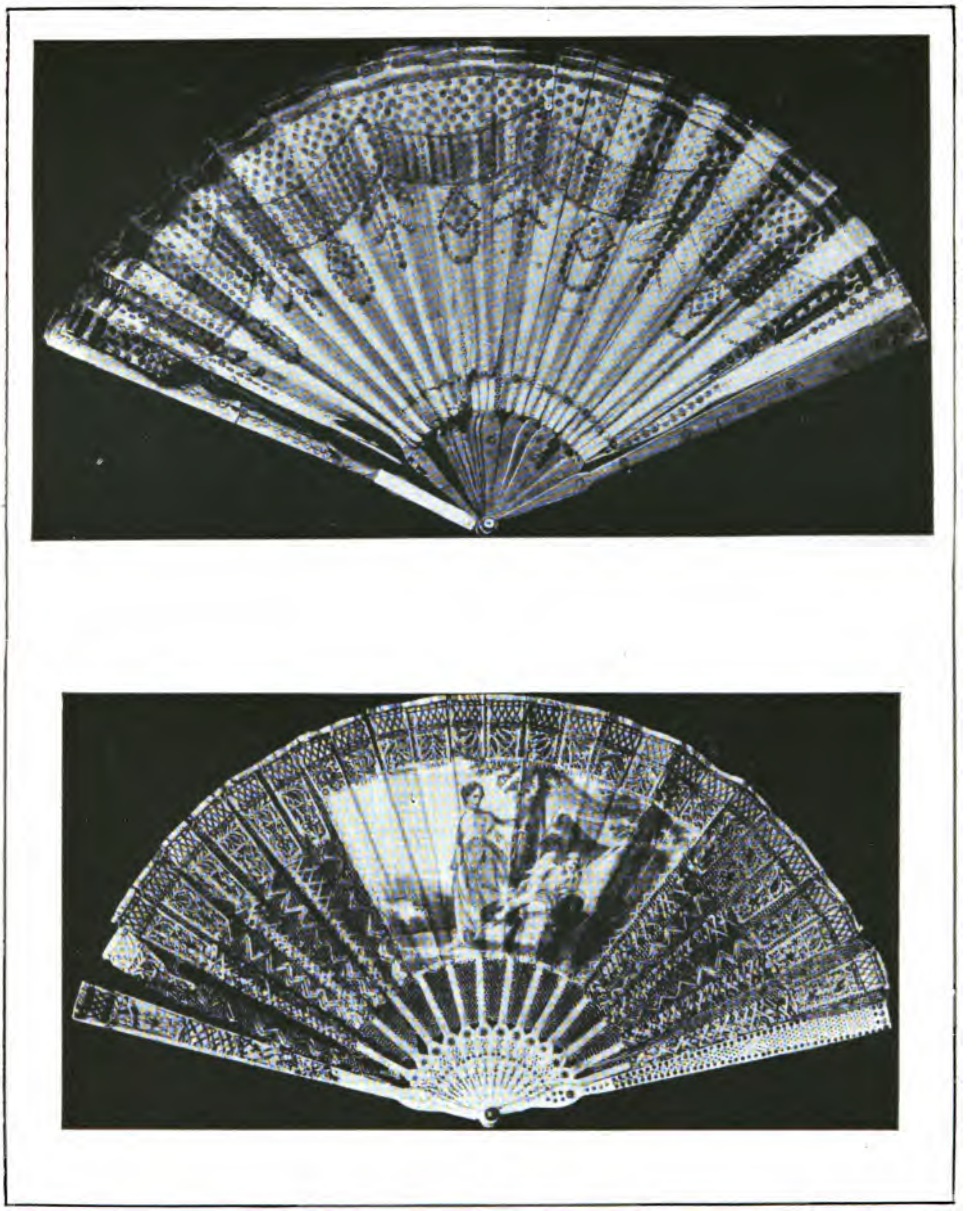
[1] Blondel, *Histoire des éventails*. Paris, 1875.

[2] Venezia, Palese, 1782.

[3] Belli, cit.

[4] In Remondini's catalogue of 1772 we read of one hundred and fifty copper plates for fans, representing certain grotesque scenes, masquerades, and so on; also of some coloured plates, and some decorations in gold and silver.

[5] De La Lande (*Voy. en Ital.*, cit., III, 34) says: "Les bourgeoises ou citadines portent des habits qui sont à peu-près comme en France; mais les manches sont en petites bottes d'hommes, presque à la matelote; lorsqu'elles sortent, elles se couvrent la tête d'une coëffe de taffetas qu'elles



Fans of the XVIII century. (Museo Civico)

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and shopkeepers, waited till they were in the country before aping the nobles, the wives and daughters insisted on copying the dress and the fashion of patrician ladies in town, and declared that they were not treated with respect unless they appeared in an *andrienne*.[1] Dotti had already bitterly satirised the ladies of the merchant and shopkeeping classes in these lines:

Moglie, figlie e nipotine
Tutte vestono in mantò,
Tutte d'or le pettorine,
E le cuffie di ponsò.

Su la gonna il falbalà,
Nella fodra un piccotè,
Per sottana un taffettà
E le calze *bien brodé*.[2]

The women of the people, however, retained a greater simplicity and grace in their holiday dress, though even they showed a tendency to adopt strange fashions. Brusoni has left us a charming picture of a girl of the people in the Seicento: "In the fashion of the lower classes," he says, "there was a touch of grace. The girl wore on her head a little shawl of blue taffeta with silver lace; a long white veil of silk with many-coloured stripes, and gold and silver embroidery covered her shoulders and breast; over her shoulders, on her forehead, and down her cheek would stray a lock or two of her beautiful hair."[3] In the eighteenth century the young women of the people came out on holidays in dresses of flaming colours, a bodice of scarlet, embroidered apron,

font aller derrière leurs bras, comme les Bolonoises, ou qu'elles croisent par devant et nouent en arrière; elles appellent cette pièce d'étoffe Sandale ou Zendalino: elles portent aussi des mantelets, Tabarini; les plus jeunes portent leurs cheveux nattés; quelques-unes les laissent tomber par derrière, de toute leur longueur, d'autres les tournent autour du chignon en natte, et les arrêtent avec deux aiguilles d'argent; elles portent de grandes pendeloques aux oreilles."

[1] Costantini, *Lett.*, cit., II, 40.

[2] Dotti, *Sat.*, cit., Part II, p. 100.

[3] Brusoni, *La gondola a tre remi*, cit., p. 237.

gold chains round their necks, bunches of many-coloured ribbons on their head and at their breast, and white slippers on their feet.[1]

The ruinous extravagance which had invaded every stratum of Venetian society alarmed the government, and, in its anxiety, it endeavoured to render the sumptuary laws still more severe. But edicts cannot mend manners. A decree of 1613 issued by the Provveditori alle Pompe, or Sumptuary Magistrates, notes the fact that the cost of gold and silver and embroidered dresses was already in itself excessive, but was rendered still more onerous because these dresses, though very costly, lasted so short a time owing to the change in fashions. In 1616 the same Board have to remark with displeasure that the expenditure on useless finery constitutes a serious burden for the families of nobles, citizens, and every class of society.[2] In 1649 the Senate discussed the reform of the Sumptuary Board,[3] and in the following year they ordered the republication of the ancient regulations.[4] In 1658 they indignantly inveigh against "the extravagance and vanity in the matter of dress which to-day exceeds all bounds, so that men have come to such a pitch of feebleness as to consume their substance in ruinous rivalry."[5] In 1781 the Great Council urged the Senate to provide against the reckless squandering of riches, "for the dominant spirit of vanity and frivolity is always breaking out in fresh quarters and is all the more hurtful to the State in that it renders private patrimonies useless for the service of the country."[6]

Legislation on this subject continued down to the fall

[1] Lamberti, *Mem.*, cit., II, 40.

[2] *Deliberatione degli Ill^mi Signori Sopravv. e Provv. alle Pompe*, November 18, 1616. Printed by Antonio Pinelli.

[3] Arch. di Stato; M. C., *Antelmus*, November 6, 1649.

[4] Ibid., December 17, 1650.

[5] Ibid., Senato, *Terra*, fol. 352, n. 3; Reg. 157, fol. 546, November 9, 1658.

[6] Ibid., M. C., *Gabriel*, fol. 38, April 30, 1781.